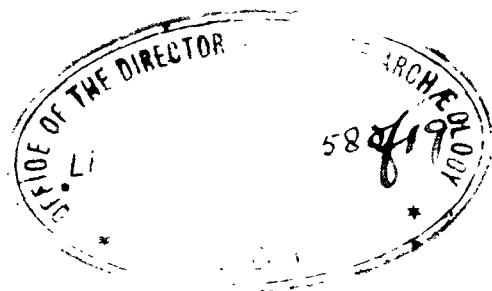
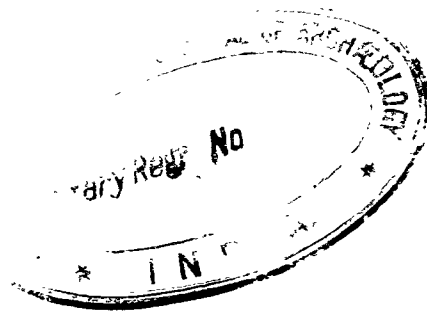


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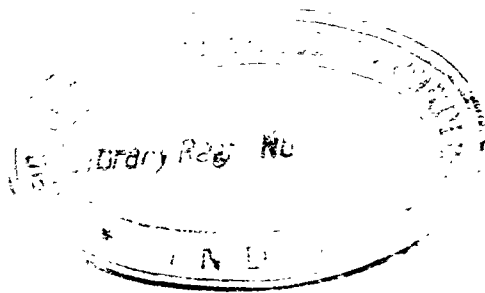
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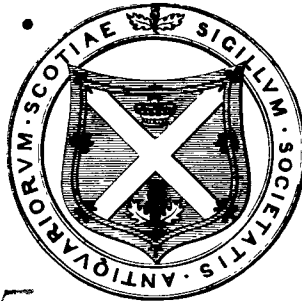
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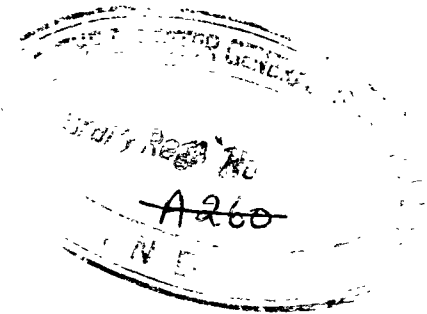
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L A W S

OF THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

INSTITUTED NOVEMBER 1780 AND INCORPORATED BY
ROYAL CHARTER 6TH MAY 1783.

(Revised and adopted November 30, 1901.)

1. The purpose of the Society shall be the promotion of ARCHÆOLOGY, especially as connected with the investigation of the ANTIQUITIES AND HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

2. The Society shall consist of Fellows, Honorary Fellows, Corresponding Members, and Lady Associates.

3. Candidates for admission as Fellows must sign the Form of Application prescribed by the Council, and must be proposed by a Fellow and seconded by two members of the Council. Admission shall be by ballot.

4. The Secretaries shall cause the names of the Candidates and of their Proposers to be inserted in the billet calling the Meeting at which they are to be balloted for. The Ballot may be taken for all the Candidates named in the billet at once; but if three or more black balls appear, the Chairman of the Meeting shall cause the Candidates to be balloted for singly. Any Candidate receiving less than two-thirds of the votes given shall not be admitted.

5. Honorary Fellows shall consist of persons eminent in Archæology, who must be recommended by the Council, and balloted for in the same way as Fellows; and they shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual subscriptions. The number of Honorary Fellows shall not exceed twenty-five.

LAWS OF THE SOCIETY.

6. Corresponding Members must be recommended by the Council and balloted for in the same way as Fellows, and they shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual subscriptions.

7. Ladies who have done valuable work in the field of Archæology may be admitted as Lady Associates. The number of Lady Associates shall not exceed twenty-five. They shall be proposed by the Council and balloted for in the same way as Fellows, and shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual subscriptions.

8. Before the name of any person is added to the List of Fellows, such person shall pay to the funds of the Society Two Guineas as an entrance fee and One Guinea for the current year's subscription, or may compound for the entrance fee and all annual subscriptions by the payment of Twenty Guineas at the time of admission. Fellows may compound for future annual subscriptions by a single payment of Fifteen Guineas after having paid five annual subscriptions; or of Ten Guineas after having paid ten annual subscriptions.

9. The subscription of One Guinea shall become due on the 30th November in each year for the year then commencing; and if any Fellow who has not compounded shall fail to pay the subscription for three successive years, due application having been made for payment, the Treasurer shall report the same to the Council, by whose authority the name of the defaulter may be erased from the list of Fellows.

10. Every Fellow not being in arrears of the annual subscription shall be entitled to receive the printed Proceedings of the Society from the date of election.

11. None but Fellows shall vote or hold any office in the Society.

12. Subject to the Laws and to the control of the Society in General Meetings, the affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council elected and appointed as hereinafter set forth. Five Members of the Council shall be a quorum.

13. The Office-Bearers of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries for general purposes, two Secretaries for Foreign Correspondence, a Treasurer, two Curators of the Museum, a Curator of Coins, and a Librarian. The President shall be elected for a period of five years, and the Vice-Presidents for a period of three years.

One of the Vice-Presidents shall retire annually by rotation and shall not again be eligible for the same office until after the lapse of one year. All the other Office-Bearers shall be elected for one year and shall be eligible for re-election.

14. In accordance with the agreement subsisting between the Society and the Government, the Board of Manufactures (now the Board of Trustees) shall be represented on the Council by two of its Members (being Fellows of the Society) elected annually by the Society. The Treasury shall be represented on the Council by the King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer (being a Fellow of the Society).

15. The Council shall consist of the Office-Bearers, the three representative Members above specified, and nine Fellows, elected by the Society.

16. Three of the nine elected Members of Council shall retire annually by rotation, and shall not again be eligible till after the lapse of one year. Vacancies among the elected Members of Council and Office-Bearers occurring by completion of term of office, by retirement on rotation, by resignation, by death or otherwise, shall be filled by election at the Annual General Meeting. The election shall be by Ballot, upon a list issued by the Council for that purpose to the Fellows at least fourteen days before the Meeting.

17. The Council may appoint committees or individuals to take charge of particular departments of the Society's business.

18. The Annual General Meeting of the Society shall take place on St Andrew's Day, the 30th of November, or on the following day if the 30th be a Sunday.

19. The Council shall have power to call Extraordinary General Meetings when they see cause.

20. The Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be held on the second Monday of each month, from December to May inclusive.

21. Every proposal for altering the Laws must be made through the Council; and the Secretaries, on instructions from the Council, shall cause intimation thereof to be made to all the Fellows at least one month before the General Meeting at which it is to be determined on.

FORMS OF BEQUEST.

Form of Special Bequest.

I, A. B., do hereby leave and bequeath to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland incorporated by Royal Charter, my collection of _____, and I direct that the same shall be delivered to the said Society on the receipt of the Secretary or Treasurer thereof.

General Form of Bequest.

I, A. B., do hereby leave and bequeath to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland incorporated by Royal Charter, the sum of £ _____ sterling [*to be used for the general purposes of the Society*] [or, *to be used for the special purpose or object, of* _____], and I direct that the said sum may be paid to the said Society on the receipt of the Treasurer for the time being.

LIST OF THE FELLOWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,

NOVEMBER 30, 1918.

PATRON :
HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

- | | |
|---|--|
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1910. CHRISTISON, JAMES, Librarian, Public Library, Montrose.
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1891. COATS, Sir THOMAS GLEN, Bart., C.B., Ferguslie, Paisley.
- 1905.*COCHRANE, KENNETH, Newfaan Isle, Gala shiels.
1914. COCHRANE, Lt.-Col. The Hon. THOMAS, Crawford Priory, Springfield, Fife.
- 1901.*COCHRAN-PATRICK, Mrs ELLA A. K., Woodside, Beith.
- 1898.*COCHRAN-PATRICK, NEIL J. KENNEDY, of Wood side, Advocate, Ladyland, Beith.
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- 1893.*COX, ALFRED W., Glendoick, Glencarse, Perthshire.
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- 1901.*COX, DOUGLAS H (no address).
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- 1886.*CURRIE, JAMES, Larkfield, Wardie Road.
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- 1886.*DAVIDSON, JAMES, Solicitor, Kirriemuir.
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- 1881.*DOUGLAS, W. D. ROBINSON, Orchardton, Castle-Douglas.
- 1912.*DRUMMOND, HUGH W., of Hawthornden, Lasswade, The Chase, Churt, Farnham, Surrey.
- 1900.*DRUMMOND, JAMES W., Westerlands, Stirling.
- 1896.*DRUMMOND, ROBERT, C.E., Fairfield, Paisley.
- 1895.*DRUMMOND-MORAY, Capt. W. H., of Abercairney, Crieff.
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- 1880.*FAULDS, A. WILSON, Knockbuckle House, Beith.
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- 1913.*GLENCONNER, The Right Hon. LORD, The Glen, Innerleithen.
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1883. GORDON-GILMOUR, Colonel ROBERT GORDON, C.B., V.O., D.S.O., of Craigmillar, The Inch, Liberton.
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- 1907.*GUTHRIE, CHARLES, W.S., 1 N. Charlotte Street.
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- 1901.*HAMILTON OF DALZELL, The Right Hon. LORD, K.T., C.V.O., Dalzell, Motherwell.
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1912. HANNAY, ROBERT KERR, Curator of the Historical Department, H.M. General Register House, 14 Inverleith Terrace.
- 1903.*HARRIS, WALTER B., Tangier, Morocco.
1887. HARRISON, JOHN, C.B.E., J.P., D.L., Rockville, Napier Road.
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- 1865.*HAY, ROBERT J. A., c/o Messrs Dundas & Wilson, 16 St Andrew Square.
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- 1909.*HOLMS, JOHN A., Stockbroker, Sandyford, Paisley.
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- 1900.*KINTORE, The Right Hon. The Earl of, G.C.M.G., LL.D., Keith Hall, Inverurie.
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- 1882.*LEADBETTER, THOMAS GREENSHIELDS, of Stobie-side, Strathaven, Spital Tower, Denholm, Roxburghshire.
- 1910.*LEIGH, Captain JAMES HAMILTON, Bindon, Wellington, Somerset.
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- 1881.*LITTLE, ROBERT, Ardenlea, Northwood, Middlesex.
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1904. MACKENZIE, W. M., M.A., Ellerker House, 63 Onslow Road, Richmond, Surrey.
- 1911.*MACKIE, PETER JEFFREY, of Glenreaddell, and Corraith, Symington, Ayrshire.
1915. MACKIRDY, Captain ELLIOT M. S., M.A Oxon., Lanarkshire Yeomanry, Birkwood Castle, Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire.
1878. MACLAGAN, ROBERT CRAIG, M.D., 5 Coates Crescent.
1917. M'LEAN, JAMES, Drumelzier School House, Broughton, Peeblesshire.
- 1885.*MACLEHOSE, JAMES, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., 7 University Gardens, Glasgow.
1910. MACLEOD, FREDERICK THOMAS, 36 St Alban's Road.
- 1890.*MACLEOD, SIR REGINALD, K.C.B., Vinters, Maidstone, Kent.
1909. MACLEOD, Major ROBERT CRAWFURD, c/o F. J. H. Macleod, Wandene, Highwood Avenue, North Finchley, London, N. 12.
- 1907.*MACLEOD, REV. WILLIAM H., B.A. Cantab., Manse of Buchanan, Drymen.
1875. MACMATH, WILLIAM, 16 St Andrew Square.
1905. MACMILLAN, H. P., K.C., 32 Moray Place.
1916. M'MILLAN, REV. WILLIAM, Chaplain to the Forces, St. Leonard's Manse, Dunfermline.
1915. MACNEIL, ROBERT LISTER, of Barra, The Wyoming, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
1909. MACPHAIL, J. R. N., K.C., Sheriff of Stirling, Dumbarton, and Clackmannan, 17 Royal Circus.
1886. MACPHERSON, ARCHIBALD, Architect, 7 Young Street.
1909. MACRAE, Capt. COLIN, of Feoirhnn, Colintrave, Argyll.
1908. MACRAE, REV. DONALD, B.D., The Manse, Edderton, Ross-shire.
1914. MACRAE-GILSTRAP, Lieutenant-Colonel JOHN, of Eilean Donan, Ballimore, Otter Ferry, Argyll.
- 1882.*MACRITCHIE, DAVID, C.A., 4 Archibald Place. —*Vice-President*.
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1917. MARSHALL, JOHN NAIRN, M.D., 7 Battery Place, Rothesay.

1885. MARSHALL, WILLIAM HUNTER, Callander. Perthshire.
1915. MARTIN, JAMES H., Hollybank, Panmure Terrace, Dundee.
1909. MARTIN, Rev. JOHN, 34 Inverleith Terrace.
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1917. MARWICK, THOMAS PURVES, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.I., F.I.Arbt., 43 Lauder Road.
1908. MASTIN, JOHN, M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.D., etc., Principal of Kenyon Hall College, Kenyon, near Manchester.
1884. MAXWELL, The Right Hon. Sir HERBERT EUSTACE, Bart., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., of Monreith, Wigtownshire.
- 1892.*MAXWELL, Sir JOHN STIRLING, Bart., LL.D., Pollok House, Pollokshaws.
1904. MAY, THOMAS, F.E.I.S., F.S.A., Glenearn, Perth Road, Crieff.
1900. MENZIES, W. D. GRAHAM, of Pitcur, Hallyburton House, Coupar-Angus.
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- 1878.*MILLER, GEORGE ANDERSON, W.S., Knowehead, Perth.
1904. MILLER, JOHN CHARLES, North of Scotland and Town and County Bank, 67 St Vincent Street, Glasgow.
- 1907.*MILLER, ROBERT SCHAW, W.S., 14 Rosebery Crescent.
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1884. MITCHELL, HUGH, Solicitor, Pitlochry.
- 1890.*MITCHELL, SYDNEY, Architect, The Pleasance, Gullane.
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1907. MORRIS, JOSEPH, Fern Bank, Clermiston Road, Corstorphine.
1882. MORRISON, HEW, LL.D., Librarian, Edinburgh Public Library, Torrusdale, 3 Corrennie Gardens.
- 1887.*MOUBRAY, JOHN J., Naemoor, Rumbling Bridge.
1904. MOUNSEY, J. L., W.S., Professor of Conveyancing, University of Edinburgh, 24 Glencairn Crescent.
1897. MOXON, CHARLES, 77 George Street.
1889. MUIRHEAD, GEORGE, F.R.S.E., Commissioner for the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, Speybank, Fochabers.
- 1879.*MUNRO, ROBERT, M.A., M.D., LL.D., Elmbank, Largs, Ayrshire.
- 1890.*MUNRO, Rev. W. M., Withdean Hall, Brighton, Sussex.
1899. MUNRO-FERGUSON, His Excellency The Right Hon. Sir RONALD CRAUFURD, of Novar, G.C.M.G., Raith, Kirkcaldy.
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1910. MURRAY, CHARLES HOPE, jun., Stockbroker, 98 West George Street, Glasgow.
- 1878.*MURRAY, DAVID, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., 169 West George Street, Glasgow.
1911. MURRAY, KEITH R., B.A., 27 St Leonard's Terrace, Chelsea, London.
1884. MURRAY, PATRICK, W.S., 7 Eton Terrace,—*Vice-President*.
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- 1905.*NAISMITH, WILLIAM W., C.A., 57 Hamilton Drive, Glasgow.
- 1911.*NAPIER, GEORGE G., M.A., 9 Woodside Place, Glasgow.
1907. NAPIER, HENRY M., Milton House, Bowling.
1896. NAPIER, THEODORE, c/o Mrs Farquharson, 10 Melville Crescent.
- 1891.*NEILSON, GEORGE, LL.D., Wellfield, 76 Partickhill Road, Glasgow.
1900. NEWLANDS, The Right Hon. LORD, LL.D., Mauldslie Castle, Carlisle.
1887. NEWTON, R. N. H., 3 Eglinton Crescent.
1907. NICOLSON, DAVID, C.B., M.D., 201 Royal Courts of Justice, Strand, London.
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1917. PARK, FRANKLIN A. 149 Broadway, New York.
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1880. PATTERSON, JAMES K., Ph.D., LL.D., President Emeritus, State University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, U.S.A.
1914. PATTERSON, T. BAXENDALE, LL.D.S. Carisbrooke, 84 Station Road, Blackpool.
1909. PAUL, ARTHUR F. BALFOUR, Architect, 16 Rutland Square.
- 1871.*PAUL, Sir GEORGE M., LL.D., W.S., Deputy Keeper of the Signet, 16 St Andrew Square.
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- 1902.*PAULIN, Sir DAVID, F.F.A., 6 Forres Street.
1891. PEACE, THOMAS SMITH, Architect, Junction Road, Kirkwall.
1913. PEACOCK, A WEBSTER, Architect, 140 Princes Street.
1904. PEDDIE, ALEXANDER L. DICK, W.S., 13 South Learmonth Gardens.
1879. PEDDIE, JOHN M. DICK, Architect, 8 Albyn Place.
1916. PHILIP, ALEXANDER, LL.B., F.R.S.E., The Mary Acre, Brechin.
1912. PORTEOUS, ALEXANDER, Ancaster House, St Fillans, Perthshire.
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1879. RANKINE, JOHN, K.C., M.A., LL.D., Professor of Scots Law, University of Edinburgh, 23 Ainslie Place.
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- 1886.*RITCHIE, CHARLES, S.S.C., 20 Hill Street.
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1916. ROBERTSON, BRUCE. B.A., 7 Vinicombe Street, Hillhead, Glasgow.
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- 1886.*ROBERTSON, ROBERT, Huntly House, Dollar.
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- 1916.*RODGER, EDWARD, 1 Clairmont Gardens, Glasgow.
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 1876. ROSS, ALEXANDER, LL.D., Architect, Queensgate Chambers, Inverness.
 1891. ROSS, THOMAS, LL.D., Architect, 14 Saxe-Coburg Place.
 1915. RUSK, J. M., S.S.C., Chnton House, Whitehouse Loan.
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 1914. RUSSELL, JOHN, 323 Leith Walk.
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 1905. SANDS, The Hon. LORD, LL.D., 4 Heriot Row.
 1903.*SAYCE, Rev. A. H., M.A., LL.D., D.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford, 8 Chalmer Crescent, Edinburgh,—*Foreign Secretary*.
 1912. SCLATER, Rev. HENRY GUY, 3 Bannerman Avenue, Inverkeithing.
 1910. SCOBIE, Captain IAN H. MACKAY, Seaforth Highlanders, c/o Messrs Cox & Co., Charing Cross, London, S.W. 1.
 1892. SCOTT, Sir JAMES, J.P., Rock Knowe, Tayport.
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 1901. SCOTT, J. H. F. KINNAIRD, of Gala, Gala House, Galashiels.
 1907. SCOTT, THOMAS G., 186 Ferry Road, Leith.
 1914. SCOTT W. J. EDMONSTON, M.A., 78 Trinity Road, Wood Green, London, N. 22.
 1907. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, ROBERT, W.S., 10 Randolph Cliff,—*Secretary*.
 1889. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, W. G., M.A., Honorary Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, Whitechurch Rectory, Edgeware, Middlesex.
 1915. SCRYMGEOUR, NORVAL, Fellow of the Institute of Journalists, Helen Bank, Longforgan, by Dundee.
 1913. SHAND, J. HARVEY, W.S., 38 Northumberland Street.
 1917. SHAW, JULIUS ADOLPHUS, 4 Grosvenor Road, Whalley Range, Manchester.
 1918. SHAW, MACKENZIE S., W.S., 1 Thistle Court.
 1917. SHAW, WILLIAM B., F.R.Hist.Soc., Honorary Curator of the Collections of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, London, 56 Sandy Lane, Stretford, Manchester.
 1908. SHEARER, JOHN E., 6 King Street, Stirling.
 1917. SHIELLS, COURTENAY JOHN, C.A., 141 George Street.
 1913. SIM, Rev. GUSTAVUS AIRD, Valetta, Malta.
 1915. SIMPSON, C. J. W., Principal Architect, H.M. Office of Works, Edinburgh, 51 Cluny Drive.
 1880.*SIMPSON, Sir ROBERT R., W.S., 23 Douglas Crescent.
 1908. SINCLAIR, COLIN, M.A., Architect, 35 Clifford Street, Ibrox, Glasgow.
 1916. SINCLAIR, SPEIRS PATON, C.A., 25 Grosvenor Street.
 1910. SINTON, Rev. THOMAS, D.D., Minister of Dores, Inverness-shire.
 1907. SKERRINGTON, The Hon. LORD, 12 Randolph Crescent.
 1909. SKINNER, ROBERT TAYLOR, M.A., F.R.S.E., House Governor, Donaldson's Hospital.
 1902. SMITH, A. DUNCAN, Advocate, Rosehill, Banchory-Ternan.
 1910. SMITH, DAVID BAIRD, LL.B., 6 Woodlands Terrace, Glasgow.
 1892. SMITH, G. GREGORY, LL.D., Professor of English Literature, University of Belfast, 26 Windsor Park, Belfast.
 1915. SMITH, JAMES, Conservator, Anthropological Museum, Marischal College, Aberdeen, 4 Belmont Place, Aberdeen.
 1892.*SMYTHE, Colonel DAVID M., Methven Castle, Perth.
 1892. SOMERVILLE, Rev. J. E., B.D., Castellar, Crief.
 1910.*SPENCER, CHARLES LOUIS, 5 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow.
 1910.*SPENCER, JOHN JAMES, 5 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow.
 1913. SQUANCE, Major T. COKE, M.D., M.S., F.R.S.E., F.R.M.S., 15 Grange Crescent, Sunderland.
 1903.*STARK, Rev. WILLIAM A., Church Place, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbright.
 1901. STEUART, A. FRANCIS, Advocate, 79 Great King Street.
 1902. STEUART, JAMES, W.S., 25 Rutland Street.
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 1895. STEVENSON, JOHN HORNE, M.A., Advocate, 9 Oxford Terrace.
 1913. STEVENSON, NORMAN, Dechmont View, Sandyhills, Shettleston.
 1913. STEVENSON, PERCY R., 5 North Charlotte Street.
 1904. STEVENSON, Major-General T. R., C.B., Sunnyside, Lanark.
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 1910. STRUTHERS, Sir John, K.C.B., LL.D., 31 Sloane Gardens, London, S.W.
 1904. STUART, Rev. JOHN, B.D., Kirkton Manse, Hawick.
 1897. SULLY, PHILIP, Moray Street, Elgin.
 1897. TUTTIE, GEORGE C., J.P., of Lalathan, Lalathan Lodge, St Cyrus, by Montrose.
 1884. SWALLOW, Rev. H. J., M.A., "Hawthornden," 23 Grand Avenue, West Southbourne, Bourne-mouth.
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 1910. TAIT, GEORGE HOPE, 26 High Street, Galashiels.
 1917. TAYLOR, FRANK J., Librarian, Public Library, Barnsley, 5 Regent Street South, Barnsley.
 1910. TERRY, Rev. Canon GEORGE FREDERICK, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S., Rector of St John's Episcopal Church, 10 Learmonth Terrace.
 1902. THIN, ROBERT, M.A., M.B., C.M., 25 Abercromby Place.
 1910. THOMAS, H. D., M.A., Oxon., Joint Headmaster of Cargilfield School, Cramond Bridge.
 1906.*THOMSON, DAVID COUPER, J.P. D.L., Inveravon, Broughty Ferry.
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 1913. THOMSON, JAMES, The Cedars, Fortisgreen Road, East Finchley, London, N.
 1918. THOMSON, JAMES GRAHAME, Aldersyde, Giffnock, Renfrewshire.
 1913. THOMSON, JOHN GORDON, S.S.C., 54 Castle Street.
 1896. THOMSON, J. MAITLAND, LL.D., Advocate, 3 Grosvenor Gardens.
 1910. THOMSON, WILLIAM N., Architect, 85 Constitution Street, Leith.
 1898. THORBURN, MICHAEL GRIEVE, Glenormiston, Innerleithen.
 1911. THORBURN, WILLIAM, Headmaster of the Public School, Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire.
 1907. THORP, JOHN THOMAS, LL.D., Brunswick House, 54 Princess Road, Leicester.
 1910. TODD, HENRY GUICHARDE, Architect, 277 Regent Street, London, W 1.
 1902.*TRAILL, H. LIONEL NORTON, F.R.G.S., Capt. 4th Highland Light Infantry, Grattan Lodge, Vicarstown, Stradbally, Queen's County, Ireland.
 1917. TRAILL, WILLIAM, C.E., 4 Warrender Park Crescent.
 1899. TULLOCH, Major-Gen. Sir ALEXANDER BRUCE, K.C.B., C.M.G., Llanwysk, Crickhowell, S. Wales.
 1918. TURNBULL, Mrs Marjory Janet, of Hailes, Hailes House, Slateford Midlothian.
 1887.*TURNBULL, WILLIAM J., 16 Grange Terrace.
 1901. TURNBULL, W. S., Aikenshaw, Roseneath.
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 1878.*URQUHART, JAMES, N.P., 13 Danube Street.
 1905.*USHER, Sir ROBERT, Bart., of Norton and Wells, Wells, Hawick.
 1904. WADDELL, JAMES ALEXANDER, of Leadloch, 12 Kew Terrace, Glasgow.
 1909. WALKER, JOHN, M.A., Solicitor, Dundee (on active service).
 1879. WALLACE, THOMAS, Ellerslie, Inverness.
 1915. WARD, The Venerable Archdeacon ALGERNON, M.A. Cantab., The Vicarage, Sturminster Newton, Dorset.
 1917. WARNER, GRAHAM NICOLL, James Place, 387 Strathmartine Road, Downfield, Dundee.
 1917.*WARRACK, JOHN, 13 Rothesay Terrace.
 1916. WATERSON, DAVID, Fellow, Royal Society of Painter-Etchers, Lond., Bridgend House, Brechin.
 1876. WATERSTON, GEORGE, 10 Claremont Crescent.
 1904. WATLING, H. STEWARD, Architect, White Gables, Dovercourt, Essex.

- 1891.*WATSON, REV. ALEXANDER DUFF, B.D., 433 Great Western Road, Aberdeen.
- 1907.*WATSON, CHARLES B. BOOG, F.R.S.E., Huntly Lodge, 1 Napier Road.
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1904. WATSON, JOHN, Architect, 27 Rutland Street.
1908. WATSON, JOHN PARKER, W.S., Greystane, Kinellan Road, Murrayfield.
1904. WATSON, WALTER CRUM, B.A., Oxon., Northfield, Balerno.
1912. WATSON, WILLIAM J., M.A., ~~LL.D.~~, F.R.S.E., Professor of Celtic Languages, Literature and Antiquities, University of Edinburgh, 8 Spence Street.
- 1907.*WATT, JAMES, W.S., F.F.A., 24 Rothesay Terrace.
1908. WATT, REV. LAUCHLAN MACLEAN, M.A., B.D., 7 Royal Circus.
1879. WEDDERBURN, J. R. M., M.A., W.S., 3 Glencairn Crescent.
- 1884.*WHITE, CECIL, 23 Drummond Place.
1914. WHITE, GEORGE DUNCAN, of Kilrenny, 25 Market-gate, Crail.
1904. WHITE, JAMES, St Winnin's, Bearsden, Dumbartonshire.
1916. WHITE, JOHN, 18 Arthur Street, Pilrig, Leith.
1903. WHITELAW, ALEXANDER, Gartshore, Kirkintilloch.
- 1902.*WHITELAW, CHARLES EDWARD, Architect, 141 Bath Street, Glasgow.
1907. WHITELAW, HARRY VINCENT, c/o E. A. Hingston, Esq., Flax-Bourton, R.S.O., near Bristol.
1913. WHITESIDE, REV. JOSEPH, M.A., Plumstead Rectory, Aldborough, Norwich.
1909. WHITTAKER, CHARLES RICHARD, F.R.C.S., Lynwood, 27 Hatton Place.
1913. WHITTAKER, PROFESSOR EDMUND T., M.A., Hon. D.Sc., F.R.S., 35 George Square.
1908. WILKIE, JAMES, B.L., S.S.C., 108 George Street.
1895. WILLIAMS, REV. GEORGE, Minister of Norrieston U.F. Church, Thornhill, Perthshire.
1897. WILLIAMS, H. MALLAM, Tilehurst, 81 Priory Road, Kew, Surrey.
1917. WILLIAMSON, GEORGE, J.P., of Westquarter, Lanarkshire, 5 Chamberlain Road.
1908. WILSON, ANDREW ROBERTSON, M.A., M.D., Lieut.-Col. R.A.M.C.T., of Hopewell, Aberdeenshire, Cairnmore, Hose Sule Road, Liscard, Cheshire.
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1913. WILSON, REV. THOMAS, B.D., The Manse, Stow, Midlothian.
1912. WILSON, REV. W. B. ROBERTSON, Strathdevon, Dollar.
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1915. WRIGHT, JOHNSTONE CHRISTIE, F.R.S.E., Northfield, Colinton, Midlothian.
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NOVEMBER 30, 1918.

- | | |
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| 1900. BUCHANAN, MUNGO, 23 South Alma Street,
Falkirk. | 1915. MATHIESON, JOHN, 42 East Claremont Street. |
| 1913. FRASER, JOHN, 68 Restalrig Road, Leith. | 1915. MORRISON. MURDO, Lakefield, Bragar, Lewis. |
| 1911. GOUDIE, JAS. M., J.P., Lerwick, Shetland. | 1911. NICOLSON, JOHN, Nybster, Caithness. |
| 1914. KIRKNESS, W., Fernlea, Kirkwall. | 1903. RITCHIE, JAMES, Hawthorn Cottage, Port Elphin-
stone, Inverurie. |
| 1908. MACKENZIE, WILLIAM, Procurator-Fiscal, Ding-
wall. | 1906. SINCLAIR, JOHN, St Ann's, 7 Queen's Crescent,
Edinburgh. |
| | 1913. STOUT, Miss ELIZABETH, Scalloway, Shetland. |

LIST OF HONORARY MEMBERS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,
NOVEMBER 30, 1918.

[According to the Laws, the number is limited to TWENTY-FIVE.]

1885.

Dr ERNEST CHANTRE, The Museum, Lyons.

1892.

Professor LUTGI FIGORINI, Director of the Royal Archæological Museum, Rome.

1897.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L., F.B.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Edwards Professor of Egyptology
in University College, London, W.C. 1.

Dr SOPHUS MÜLLER, Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, and Director
of the National Museum, Copenhagen.

5 Professor OSCAR MONTELIUS, LL.D., Emeritus Royal Antiquary of Sweden, Stockholm.

1900.

EMILE CARTAILHAC, 5 Rue de la Chaine, Toulouse.

F. J. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.B.A., LL.D., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Winshields,
Headington Hill, Oxford.

Rev. S. BARING GOULD, Lew Trenchard, North Devon.

ROBERT BURNARD, Huccaby House, Princetown, S. Devon.

1908.

10 Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, M.A., D.C.L., Youldbury, near Oxford.

SALOMON REINACH, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities of France, St
Germain-en-Laye.

Professor H. DRAGENDORFF, Zehlendorferstrasse, 55 Lichterfelde (West), Berlin-Gr.

13 Professor E. RITTERLING, Director of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Eschersheimers
Landstrasse 107, Frankfort-on-Main.

LIST OF THE LADY ASSOCIATES
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,
NOVEMBER 30, 1918.

[According to the Laws, the number is limited to TWENTY-FIVE.]

1888.

The Right Hon. The COUNTESS OF SELKIRK, Balmae, Kirkcudbright.

1894.

Miss EMMA SWANN, Walton Manor, Oxford.

1900

Miss M. A. MURRAY, Edwards Library, University College, London, W.C.1.
4 Mrs E. S. ARMITAGE, Westholm, Rawdon, Leeds.

SOCIETIES, INSTITUTIONS, &c., EXCHANGING PUBLICATIONS.

Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society
of Chester and North Wales.
Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.
British Archæological Association.
Buchan Field Club.
Buteshire Natural History Society.
Cambrian Archæological Association.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and
Archæological Society.
Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History
Association.
Dumfriesshire Natural History and Antiquarian
Society.
Edinburgh Architectural Association.
Elgin Literary and Scientific Society.
Essex Archæological Society.
Gaelic Society of Inverness.
Geological Society of Edinburgh.
Glasgow Archæological Society.
Hawick Archæological Society.
Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.
Institute of Archæology, Liverpool.
Kent Archæological Society.
Lincolnshire Architectural and Archæological
Society.
New Spalding Club.
Perthshire Society of Natural Science.
Royal Anthropological Institute.
Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain
and Ireland.
Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical
Monuments in Scotland.
Royal Historical Society.
Royal Irish Academy.
Royal Numismatic Society.

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
Scottish Ecclesiological Society.
Shropshire Archæological Society.
Society of Antiquaries of London.
Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Society of Architects.
Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History
Society.
Stirling Natural History and Archæological Society.
Surrey Archæological Society.
Sussex Archæological Society.
Thoresby Society.
Viking Club.
Wiltshire Archæological Society.
Yorkshire Archæological Society.

FOREIGN SOCIETIES, UNIVERSITIES, MUSEUMS, &c.

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris.
Alterthumsgesellschaft, Königsberg.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna.
Antiquarische Gesellschaft, Zürich.
Archæological Survey of India.
Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie.
Bosnisch-Herzegovinisches Landes-Museum, Sara-
jevo.
British School at Rome.
Bureau of Ethnology, Washington.
Centralblatt für Anthropologie, Stettin.
California University.
Christiania University.
Colombo Museum, Ceylon.
Columbia University.
Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.
Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris.
Faculté des Sciences de Lyon.

Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminde-
 Bevaring.

Gesellschaft für Nützliche Forschung, Trier.

Göteborg och Bohusläns Fornminnesföreningen.

Göttingen University.

Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft, Basel.

Historische Verein für Niedersachsen.

Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, Paris.

Kiel University.

Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab, Trond-
 hjem.

Leipzig University.

Musée Guimet, Paris.

Musée National Suisse à Zürich.

Museum, Bergen, Norway.

Museum of Northern Antiquities, Christiania.

National Museum of Croatia.

Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.

Norsk Folkemuseum, Christiania.

Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

Physic-Oekonomische Gesellschaft, Königsberg.

Prähistorische Kommission der Kaiserliche

Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.

Provincial Museum, Toronto, Canada.

Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Rome.

Römisch-Germanisches Central Museum, Mainz.

Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Kaiser-
 lichen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt
 am Main.

Royal Academy of History and Antiquities,
 Stockholm.

Royal Bohemian Museum, Prague.

Royal Canadian Institute, Toronto.

Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

Saalburg Kommission, Homburg, v. d. H.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A.

Società Romana di Antropologia, Rome.

Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.

Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.

Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles.

Société Archéologique de Constantine, Algeria.

Société Archéologique du Midi de la France.

Société Archéologique de Montpellier.

Société Archéologique de Moravie.

Société Archéologique de Namur.

Société des Bollandists, Brussels.

Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie, Helsingfors.

Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand.

Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.

Stadisches Museum für Volkerkunde, Leipzig.

Upsala University.

Verein für Nassauische Alterthumskunde, Wies-
 baden.

Verein von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande,
 Bonn.

PERIODICALS.

L'Anthropologie, Paris.

LIBRARIES, BRITISH.

Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

Athenæum Club Library, London.

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

British Museum Library.

Chetham's Library, Manchester.

Durham Cathedral Library.

Faculty of Procurators' Library, Glasgow.

Free Library, Edinburgh.

Free Library, Liverpool.

Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

Ordnance Survey Library, Southampton.

Public Record Office Library, London.

Royal Library, Windsor.

Royal Scottish Museum Library, Edinburgh.

Scottish National Portrait Gallery Library.

Signet Library, Edinburgh.

Trinity College Library, Dublin.

United Free Church College Library, Edinburgh.

University Library, Aberdeen.

University Library, Cambridge.

University Library, Edinburgh.

University Library, Glasgow.

University Library, St Andrews.

Victoria and Albert Museum Library, London.

LIBRARIES, FOREIGN.

Imperial Library, Vienna.

National Library, Paris.

Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A.

Public Library, Hamburg.

Royal Library, Berlin.

Royal Library, Copenhagen.

Royal Library, Dresden.

Royal Library, Munich, Bavaria.

Royal Library, Stockholm.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND

HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1917-1918

ANNIVERSARY MEETING, 30th November 1917.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD ABERCROMBY, LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

Mr James Mackenzie and Mr Symington Grieve were appointed Scrutineers of the Ballot for the election of Office-Bearers.

The Ballot having been concluded, the Scrutineers found and declared the List of the Council for the ensuing year to be as follows:—

President.

The Right Hon. LORD ABERCROMBY, LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.

ERSKINE BEVERIDGE, LL.D.
PATRICK MURRAY, W.S.
DAVID MACRITCHIE.

Councillors.

Sir JOHN R. FINDLAY. K.B.E.	} <i>Representing the Board of Trustees.</i>	JOHN A. INGLIS.
The Hon. HEW HAMIL- TON DALRYMPLE, M.P.		GEORGE MACKAY, M.D., F.R.C.S.E.
Sir KENNETH MACKENZIE, Bart..		J. R. N. MACPHAIL, K.C.
<i>Representing the Treasury.</i>		JOHN BRUCE.
The Hon. LORD GUTHRIE, LL.D.		The Right Hon. LORD CARMICHAEL, G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G.
Sir JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, C.V.O., LL.D.		JAMES MACLEHOSE, M.A., LL.D.
		JOHN G. KIRKPATRICK, W.S.

Secretaries.

ROBERT SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, W.S. | J. GRAHAM CALLANDER.

For Foreign Correspondence.

The Rev. Professor A. H. SAYCE, M.A., | Professor G. BALDWIN BROWN.
LL.D., D.D.

Treasurer.

JOHN NOTMAN, F.F.A.

Curators of the Museum.

JAMES CURLE, W.S. | Professor THOMAS H. BRYCE.

Curator of Coins.

GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D.

Librarian.

WILLIAM K. DICKSON, LL.D.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were duly elected
Fellows:—

ROBERT H. GILBERT BRUCE, M.B., C.M., Eastgate House, Friockheim.
W. M. BURKE, City Chamberlain, Dundee, "Avondale," Bingham Terrace,
Dundee.
J. STORER CLOUSTON, Smoogro House, Orphir, Orkney.
HUGH ALEXANDER FORSYTH, Murroes Schoolhouse, near Dundee.
GEORGE ALEXANDER GARDNER, C.A., Calle Callao, 194, Buenos Aires.
Argentine Republic.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

3

- WILLIAM HENDERSON LOVE, M.A. (Glas.). A.Mus. Trin. Coll. London.
5 Blythswood Drive, Glasgow.
- R. W. MACFARLANE-GRIEVE, Lieutenant. 3rd The Black Watch, Impington
Park, Cambridge.
- JOHN NAIRN MARSHALL, M.D., 7 Battery Place, Rothesay.
- THOMAS PURVES MARWICK, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.L. F.L.Arbit., Architect.
43 Lauder Road.
- Rev. A. T. RICHARDSON, "Lincluden," Kirkcaldy.
- JULIUS ADOLPHUS SHAW, 4 Grosvenor Road, Whalley Range, Manchester.
- WILLIAM B. SHAW, F.R. Hist. Soc., Honorary Curator of the Collections
of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, London, "Inver-
keith," Cecil Road, Stretford, Manchester.
- JOHN ALEXANDER STEWART, 104 Cheapside Street, Glasgow.
- FRANK J. TAYLOR, Librarian, Public Library, Barnsley, 5 Regent Street
South, Barnsley.
- WILLIAM TRAILL, C.E., 4 Warrender Park Crescent.
- GEORGE WILLIAMSON, J.P., of Westquarter, Lanarkshire, 5 Chamber-
lain Road.

The following list of members deceased since the last Annual Meeting was read:—

Corresponding Members.

	Elected.
C. G. CASH, F.R.S.G.S., 15 Barnton Gardens, Davidson's Mains	1908
MATTHEW LIVINGSTONE, I.S.O., 32 Hermitage Gardens	1910

Fellows.

	Elected.
His Grace The DUKE OF ATHOLL, K.T., Blair Castle, Blair Atholl	1889
JOHN G. ALEXANDER BAIRD, Wellwood, Muirkirk, Ayrshire	1900
HIPPOLYTE J. BLANC, R.S.A., 25 Rutland Square	1879
HORATIUS BONAR, W.S., 3 St Margaret's Road	1880
The Right Hon. The EARL OF ELGIN AND KINCARDINE, K.G., G.C.S.I., LL.D., Broomhall, Dunfermline	1901
ALEXANDER FOOTE	1875
The Right Hon. The EARL OF HADDINGTON, K.T., Tyninghame, Preston- kirk	1861
Sir WILLIAM HENRY HOULDSWORTH, Bart., Coodham, Kilmarnock	1901
ALEXANDER HUTCHESON, Herschel House, Broughty Ferry	1882
JAMES LENNOX, Eden Bank, Dumfries	1884
JAMES RONALDSON LYELL, Bantuscal, 30 Blacket Place	1915
W. A. MACFARLANE-GRIEVE, M.A. and S.C.L. Oxon., M.A. Cantab., of Penchrise and Edenhall, Roxburghshire, Impington Park, Cam- bridgeshire	1899
WILLIAM MACGILLIVRAY, W.S., 32 Charlotte Square	1878

4 PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 30, 1917.

	Elected.
Lieutenant-Colonel Sir ALEXANDER BURNES M'HARDY, K.C.B., 3 Ravelston Park	1889
J. M. MACKINLAY, M.A., F.S.A., The Lee, 18 Colinton Road	1888
CHARLES MACPHATER, 96 Langside Avenue, Glasgow	1913
THOMAS A. NELSON, St Leonard's, Dalkeith Road	1906
HENRY K. SHIELLS, C.A., 141 George Street	1892
DAVID CRAWFORD SMITH, Croft Lodge, Craigie, Perth	1898
WILLIAM STEELE, Marlborough Cottage, Kelso	1891
FRANK SYKES, Brookfield, Cheadle, Cheshire	1910

The meeting resolved to record their sense of the loss the Society had sustained in the death of these members.

In the absence of the Secretary, the Assistant Secretary read the following Report by the Council on the affairs of the Society for the year ending 30th November 1917, which, on the motion of the Chairman, was duly approved :—

The Council beg to submit to the Fellows of the Society their Report for the year ending 30th November 1917.

Membership.—The total number of Fellows on the roll at 30th November 1916 was 682
At 30th November 1917 the number was 677
being a decrease of 5

There were 21 new members added to the roll during the year, while 19 died, 2 resigned, and 9 allowed their membership to lapse. Two Corresponding Members died, and two were elected. The Council feel that the way in which the membership of the Society is being maintained is a matter of sincere congratulation.

In the list of those who have died during the year will be found the names of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander M'Hardy, K.C.B., and Mr Mackinlay, two regular attenders at the meetings of the Society, whose presence will be much missed.

Sir Alexander M'Hardy was elected a Fellow in 1889; he was a member of Council for many years, and was at one time a Vice-President of the Society. He was especially interested in the question of vitrified forts, and made a series of experiments in the vitrification of stone, the result of which he communicated to the Society in February 1906. The interests of Mr Mackinlay, on the other hand, lay more particularly in hagiology and ecclesiology, in regard to which he published several valuable works and contributed papers to our *Proceedings*. Mr Mackinlay, who immediately preceded the date of his

death was a Member of Council, had been blind for many years as the result of an accident, and was thus obliged to do his research work through others. That the result attained should have been so excellent is a testimony to the enthusiasm which he carried into his work and a wonderful example of triumph over physical disabilities.

We have also to regret the death of Mr J. G. A. Baird, who had only of recent years found leisure to associate himself in the active work of the Society. In 1915 he was a member of the Traprain Excavation Committee, and from time to time rendered valuable service by personally superintending the workmen engaged on the hill. On his own estate of Muirkirk he was fortunate to find several cairns and other monuments of prehistoric times, and these he was systematically excavating up to the time of his death.

Through the death of Mr Matthew Livingstone, formerly Deputy-Keeper of the Records of Scotland, the Society has lost a friend to whom it owed much. Members will remember that Mr Livingstone devoted a great deal of valuable time to examining and cataloguing the large collection of charters belonging to the Society, the result of his labours being published in the *Proceedings* of the Society in April 1907.

Another keen antiquary in the person of Mr William Steele has been removed from our midst. His interest in the Society is evidenced after his death, for he has bequeathed to it his small collection of prehistoric implements, to which after reference will be made.

The Society has also to mourn the death of the Duke of Atholl, who, although he never took an active part in the work of the Society, was keenly interested in its doings and was a not infrequent visitor to the Museum.

Another name, that of Captain Nelson, falls to be added to the roll of those of our Fellows who have fallen for their country. Lastly, almost on the eve of our meeting, we have had intimation of the death of Mr Alexander Hutcheson of Broughty Ferry. Mr Hutcheson was well known as an architect with keen antiquarian tastes, and throughout a long period of years was a member of this Society, having joined it in 1882. He was one of the most frequent contributors to our *Proceedings*, in the course of his connection with the Society having given to us as many as thirty papers covering a wide range of subjects, from records of prehistoric burials to sculptured monuments. His interest in all antiquarian matters made him a most valued Fellow of the Society. In the latest volume, an advance copy of which is on the table to-night, we have his last communication dealing with some interesting carved panels seen by him many years before and with characteristic care noted with a view to

subsequent record, also giving us an inventory of the household plenishing of a daughter of Cardinal Betoun, which he had obtained in a collection of old papers. Besides contributing to our Society, Mr Hutcheson was a not infrequent contributor on antiquarian matters to his own local press.

Proceedings.—There is again a decrease in the number of papers read, there being only fourteen this year as against eighteen in the preceding year. Four papers dealt with historical and ten with archæological subjects. Mr Goudie and Mr MacRitchie both contributed interesting papers dealing with earth-houses and their inhabitants, which led to a good deal of discussion. Mr Fraser read a paper on the Artificial Island of Loch Kinellan, giving the results of further investigations into the origin and composition of these interesting structures; and Mr Callander in his paper on a Flint Workers' Factory directed attention to a series of sites such as might easily be passed over without antecedent knowledge. Mr James Curle's paper on Samian Ware, its production and evolution, was of exceptional interest and importance, and will be found to repay careful study. Additional interest was added to the papers of Miss Hanna and Mr Scott-Moncrieff by the exhibition of the actual objects described—in one case the heart of King Henry III. of England, and in the other three needlework hangings inventoried as having at one time belonged to Mary of Guise, and afterwards to her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots.

Museum.—The number of objects added to the Museum during the past year has been 37 by donation, 12 by bequest, and 6 by purchase.

Owing to the War, and the need to refrain from employment of labour unnecessary for the welfare of the country, no excavations have been conducted by the Society during the past year, and this cause, taken in conjunction with the fact that the Museum is still closed, largely accounts for the great falling off in acquisitions as compared with normal times.

The most interesting object added to the Museum within the last year is a gold ring set with a natural uncut diamond, found in the grounds of Holyrood Palace while a shrubbery there was being cleared up. It is believed to be a relic of fourteenth-century date. The probability is that such a relic must have belonged to some important personage, but that is a point upon which it is idle to speculate.

As previously mentioned, a small collection of prehistoric relics was bequeathed to the Museum by the late Mr William Steele of Kelso, a Fellow of the Society. Among them was included a small circular button of jet, plano-convex, and having a V-shaped perforation on the flat side. Buttons of this form in this country belong to the Bronze Age, and on the Continent are found associated with neolithic interments.

There has also been added to the Museum a plaquette medal to commemorate the late Joseph Déchelette, one of our Honorary Fellows, and one of the most eminent archæologists in Europe.

A private excavation conducted by Mr G. P. H. Watson on a sand-hill near Bogside in Ayrshire has yielded a very interesting collection of fragments of pottery, probably of fourteenth-century date, which will form a useful series for comparative purposes for the student of mediæval ceramic.

Library.—The Museum still remains closed to the public and the collections stored away, but the Society will be pleased to learn that the books have been restored to their shelves and that the Library is once more available for their use. Unfortunately, owing to the restrictions as to lighting, it will be impossible to hold the meetings of the Society there during the winter, and we are again indebted to the Royal Society for the use of their rooms.

The number of books added to the Library during the past year is 39 by donation and 14 by purchase. In addition, a considerable number of publications of learned societies, etc., have been received by way of exchange.

Rhind Lectureship.—The Rhind Lectures for 1916 were delivered in the autumn of the year, the lecturer being Professor Watson, and his subject being “Celtic Place-Names in Scotland.” The lecturer for 1917 was Mr Charles J. Foulkes, Curator of the Armouries in the Tower of London, his subject being “Arms and Armour.” The lectures for 1918 will be delivered by Mr A. O. Curle on “The Prehistoric Monuments of Scotland.”

The Gunning Fellowship and the Chalmers-Jerrise Bequest.—Owing to the War, no grants have been made in respect of these during the year.

Signed on behalf of the Council.

ABERCROMBY.

Mr John Notman, F.F.A., Treasurer, made the annual statement of the Society's Funds, which was ordered to be printed and circulated among the members; and, on the motion of the Chairman, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr Notman for his gratuitous services as Treasurer.

MONDAY, 10th December 1917.

The RIGHT HON. LORD ABERCROMBY, LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were duly elected Fellows :—

J. J. BONAR, Lieutenant, Royal Scots, 3 St Margaret's Road.
ROBERT M'CULLOCH KATER, Dean View, Kilmarnock.
JAMES M'LEAN, Drumelzier School House, Broughton, Peeblesshire.
COURTENAY JOHN SHIELLS, C.A., 141 George Street.
ROBERT FINNIE M'EWEN, B.A. Cantab., Advocate, of Marchmont and
Bardrochat, Marchmont, Berwickshire.

There was exhibited by Miss Bruce, 59 Great King Street, a Stone
Mould for casting buttons, which was found in a field at Edenshead,
Gateside, Fife. It is described as follows by Mr Alexander O. Curle :—

The mould, which is a pentagonal fragment of claystone about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch
in thickness, has a circular matrix on each face. The larger, which has
been for a small brooch or button, with a subconical centre, is surrounded
by a lettered border, and measures $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter. The central
portion is divided into five equal segments by radial lines, and each
segment is ornamented with a chevron, placed point inwards, resting
on the inner edge of the border, with a single pellet in advance of its
point. The lettering on the border does not appear to make an
intelligible inscription.

The smaller matrix has been for a slightly convex circular button
measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. It has been divided by beaded radial
lines into four equal segments, and is ornamented with identical designs
in the opposing segments. These consist respectively of a chevron
placed point inwards, and of two pellets with an object resembling a
boar's head between them.

The following Donations, received during the recess from 14th May
to 30th November, were announced :—

(1) By LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH.

Four plates of photographs of a twelfth-century enamelled Ciborium,
stated to have been presented by Mary Queen of Scots to Sir James
Balfour of Burleigh, from whom it has passed by descent to the donor.
For descriptive details see *Scottish National Memorials*, 1890, pp. 45-53.

(2) By the Rev. WILLIAM M'MILLAN, F.S.A.Scot.

Sixteen leaves of manuscript containing copies of Notarial Instru-
ments, made for the most part at Selkirk between the months of April
and June 1591; probably part of a Protocol Book.

(3) By Mr J. H. JAMIESON, 12 Sciennes Gardens, Edinburgh.

Two Church Tokens—Whittinghame, 1822, and Knox Free Church, Haddington, 1858.

(4) By the Misses ROBERTSON - MACDONALD, 66 St John's Road, Oxford.

Impression in red wax of the Great Seal of Charles II., dated 1660.

(5) By G. P. H. WATSON, F.S.A. Scot.

Fragments of Mediæval Pottery, probably of thirteenth-century date, from excavation at Kidsneuk, Bogside, Parish of Irvine, Ayrshire.

It was announced that the purchase had been made of an Oblong Plaquette of oxidised silver, commemorating Joseph Déchelette. *Obr.* Portrait bust in medallion; underneath, JOSEPH DECHELETTE, MDCCCLXII-MCMXIV. *Rev.* Trophy of Arms, wreathed, between the legends GALLIAE RELIQUIAS ILLUSTRAVIT and PRO GALLIA MILES CECEDIT.

The following donations of Books for the Library were also intimated:—

(1) By HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

Calendar of State Papers, relating to English Affairs, preserved principally at Rome, in the Vatican Archives and Library. Vol. i. Elizabeth, 1558-1571. Edited by J. M. Rigg. London, 1916.

(2) By ROBERT MUNRO, M.A., M.D., LL.D., F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

Darwinism and Human Civilisation, with special reference to the Origin of German Military "Kultur." Reprint from the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. xxxvii., Part II. (No. 10). Edinburgh, 1917. Pamphlet.

(3) By the Right Hon. LORD ARERCROMBY, LL.D., *President*, the Author.

Sculptured Figures from near Aden. Reprint from the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. xlv. Pamphlet.

A Study of the Ancient Speech of the Canary Islands. Reprinted from the *Harvard African Studies*, vol. i., Cambridge, 1917, pp. 95-129.

(4) By the CURATOR OF THE CASTLE MUSEUM, Norwich.

The Report of the Castle Museum Committee to the Town Council, 1916. Pamphlet.

10 PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, DECEMBER 10, 1917.

- (5) By Lieutenant DAVID N. MACKAY, R.N.V.R., H.M. Naval Depot, Inverness, the Editor.

The Grosett Manuscript, being an unpublished Record of Events in the Stirling District during the Jacobite Rising of 1745-1746. Reprinted from *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xxviii. Inverness, 1917. Pamphlet.

- (6) By ERSKINE BEVERIDGE, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., the Editor.

The Burgh Records of Dunfermline, transcribed from the Original Manuscript Volume, Courts, Sasines, etc., 1488-1584. Edinburgh, 1917. 4to.

- (7) By FREDERICK T. MACLEOD, F.S.A.Scot., the Editor.

Eilean a' Cheò (The Isle of Mist), comprising Articles on Skye by Skyemen. Edinburgh, 1917. 8vo.

- (8) By T. J. WESTROPP, M.A., 115 Strand Road, Sandymount, Dublin, the Author.

The Ancient Sanctuaries of Knockaineey and Clogher, Co. Limerick, and their Goddesses. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxiv.

Prehistoric Remains in North-Western and Central Co. Clare. Part XV. Addenda. West Clare.

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- (10) By THE FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Chicago, U.S.A.

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The Church of Kaisariani in Attica: its History, Architecture, and Mural Paintings: a Study in Byzantine Art. Reprinted from the Scottish Ecclesiological Society's *Transactions*, 1916.

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Hyderabad Archæological Series. No. 2. The Daulatabad Plates of Jagadekamalla, A.D. 1017. Calcutta, 1917.

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Purchases of Books for the Library were announced:—

Scottish Record Society. Parts LXXV. and LXXVII. Calendar of Writs preserved at Yester House, 1166-1536. 13th February 1502—1st June 1536: 2nd November 1536—6th October 1598. Edited by Charles C. Harvey.

Scottish Record Society. Part LXXVIII. Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnstoun, 1528-1578. Edited by James Beveridge, M.A., Rector of Linlithgow Academy, and James Russell, Town Clerk of Linlithgow.

Fasti Ecclesię Scoticanę: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation. By Hew Scott, D.D. Vol. ii. Synods of Merse and Teviotdale, Dumfries, and Galloway. Edinburgh, 1917. 8vo.

Egypt Exploration Fund. The Inscriptions of Sinai. By Alan H. Gardiner, D. Litt., and T. Eric Peet, B.A. Part I. Introduction and Plates. London, 1917. Folio.

The Glastonbury Lake Village. Vol. ii. By Arthur Bulleid, L.R.C.P., F.S.A., and Harold St George Gray. The Glastonbury Antiquarian Society, 1917. 4to.

Scottish History Society, Second Series, vol. xv. A Contribution to the Bibliography of Scottish Topography. Vol. ii. By the late Sir Arthur Mitchell, K.C.B., and C. G. Cash, F.R.S.G.S., Corr. Mem. Soc. Ant. Scot.

Scottish History Society, Second Series, vol. xvi. Papers relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant, 1643-1647. Vol. i. Edited by Professor Charles Sanford Terry.

Inventory and Survey of the Armouries of the Tower of London. By Charles J. Foulkes, B. Litt. Oxon., F.S.A., Curator of the Armouries. 2 vols. London, 1916. 4to.

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Dumbarton Castle: its Place in the General History of Scotland.

Forming Part I. of a Revised History of Dumbartonshire. By John Irving. Dumbarton, 1917. 8vo.

Airlie: A Parish History. By the Rev. William Wilson. Coatbridge, 1917. 8vo.

Der Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes des Römerreiches. Lieferung 42: Kastell und die Erdlager von Heddernheim. Kastell Frankfurt a M.

The following communications were read:—

I.

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF ALBION. BY PROFESSOR FLINDERS PETRIE. F.R.S., F.B.A., HON. F.S.A. SCOT.

Many studies have been made of Ptolemy's *Geography* on the ground of taking it as whole statement, more or less erroneous and incomprehensible. In 1886 I tried to show a different treatment of it, by systematic analysis into its original elements, in the case of Egypt (*Naukratis I.*, pp. 90-94). As Britain is remarkable in Ptolemy's work for the amount of distortion, this treatment by analysis is much needed, in order to understand how his errors arose, and from what material he was building. This study does not touch on the original authors from whom Ptolemy drew his material, but only on the original facts which were utilised, whether combined by Ptolemy or any of his predecessors. When, therefore, the name of Ptolemy is used here, it is without any prejudice to the question of whether he borrowed his basic facts or adopted the work already done by others.

The first step in studying Ptolemy is to take account of the various readings of the MSS. For this purpose the edition of C. Müller (Paris, 1883), with all the MS. variations, is indispensable. But the utility of this apparatus must not necessarily give authority to the form of the text adopted by Müller. His industry may have exceeded his judgment in forming a standard text. He gives great weight to the three Florentine MSS.; but, by the test of harmonious positions, these are by no means of ruling authority. In an appendix are stated seven test cases where the geographical position checks the readings; in these the older text of Nobbe is always preferable to that of Müller.

For purposes of study the most convenient map is Kiepert's *Insulae Britannicae*, 1893. On a net of the same size of degrees Ptolemy's positions were all plotted; and on strips of paper the *Antonine Itineraries* were laid off to the same scale. Thus (a) the true positions in Kiepert, (b)

Ptolemy's positions, and (c) the Antonine distances, can all be compared graphically and immediately. No reliance has been placed on the Kiepert identifications of places, unless well known otherwise. Roman miles only are used in this paper. The Latin forms of the names have been preferred, as probably they were reported by Roman sources in this shape and translated into Greek by Ptolemy. The variations of the forms of names are not dealt with here.

ABSOLUTE POSITIONS.

The first question is the astronomical basis for the principal points. Longitudes there were none, except by dead reckoning and mapping. Latitudes were fixed—at least in Britain—solely by the hours in the longest day. For converting the number of hours into the corresponding latitude Ptolemy gives a table (lib. i. cap. xxiii.). To compare this with the truth, we have here a diagram, showing the relation of hours to the latitudes between 48° and 66° ; the curves are from calculations of six points, for the theoretical number of hours of the sun's centre above the horizon regardless of atmosphere, and also for the extreme appearance of the sun's edge as raised by refraction. For this the obliquity of the ecliptic has been taken at $23^\circ 41'$ for the first century, refraction at $30'$, and semidiameter at $15'$. The points tabulated by Ptolemy are connected by a broken line. His form of curve is very accurate, but gives about $10'$ too low a latitude for the theory of centres. When refraction and the sun's diameter are taken into account, the actual visible sunshine will be much longer at any place than Ptolemy allowed, and his latitudes of places are correspondingly too high.

In lib. viii. cap. ii. Ptolemy gives the hours of the longest day for six positions in our region.

	Ptolemy.	Actually.	Error.
	h m	h m	m °
Uectis . . .	16 40=52	16 33=50 40	+ 7 $1\frac{1}{3}$
London . . .	17 54	16 42 51 30	+18 $2\frac{1}{3}$
York . . .	17 50 $57\frac{1}{2}$	17 10 54	+40 $3\frac{1}{2}$
Caturactonium .	18 58	17 18 54 24	+42 $3\frac{1}{2}$
Alata . . .	18 30 $59\frac{1}{2}$	18 4 57 25	+26 2
Dumna . . .	19 10 $61\frac{1}{2}$	18 22 $58\frac{1}{2}$	+48 $2\frac{1}{2}$

The actual length of day shows that the observations were very bad for this purpose, only Uectis being tolerable, and the others evidently including a good deal of twilight. Thus the latitudes were all in excess, first by the length of day being overstated, second by the refraction raising

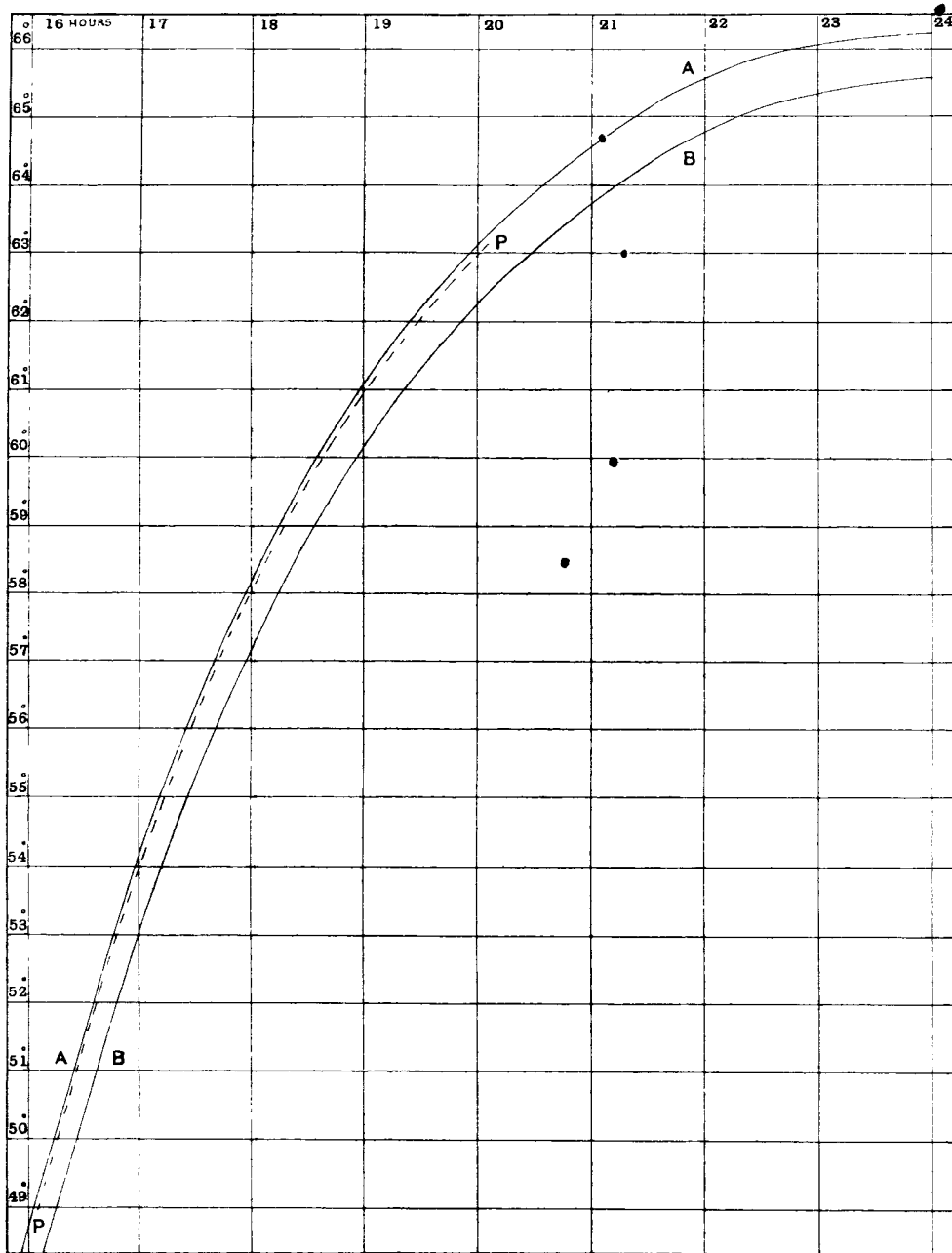


Fig. 1. Curves of Length of Longest Day at different latitudes.
A-A, By Sun's centre without refraction; B-B, actual visibility of Sun's edge;
P-P, stated by Ptolemy (broken line).

the apparent sun, third by reckoning the centre and not the edge of the sun.

We can now begin to see the source of the main distortion of the map of Albion. The direct distance as plotted from London to Caturactonium is equal to that from C. to Alata Castra (Nairn), and it is very likely therefore that Ptolemy had a statement that Caturactonium was half way between the distant points, such being near the truth (distances as 8:9). Having by unfortunate errors in the length of the day placed Caturactonium 1° too far north of London, and Alata Castra $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ too little north of Caturactonium, he had to fit one length into 4° in England, and an equal length into only $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ in Scotland. The only possible way to reconcile this was to turn the northern length either to east or west to fit it into the $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of latitude. Thus the great distortion can be definitely run down to the mistake of reckoning the day in Yorkshire to include twenty minutes more twilight than was reckoned in London or Nairn.

Coasting Distances.

The best materials that were available for relative positions were the coasting distances. We might think that such were far inferior in value to road distances; but the road material was so scanty that the coasting was superior in value. It is certain that Ptolemy had none of the Antonine Itineraries, for if he had had those he could not possibly have made the internal errors that we see. A small number of road lengths were used, but not any one whole iter. He also ignores Hadrian's Wall.

The first point in the coasting is that the places along a given piece of coast are at equal distances. Remembering that Ptolemy usually only states the nearest $10'$, and never less than $5'$, any distances agreeing within such limits are to be considered equal. This equal spacing probably results from statements of day's sailing between ports. The distances stated in this paper are all in Roman miles, in order to be comparable with the itineraries.

PTOLEMY.	ACTUAL.
<i>Cantium Promontorium.</i>	<i>South Foreland.</i>
59 to Novus Portus.	33 to Rye or 58 to Pevensey.
49 .. Trisantonis fl.	55 .. Shoreham .. 68 .. Portsmouth.
62 .. Magnus Portus.	48 .. Clausentum .. 43 .. Poole.
66 .. Alanius fl.	68 .. Weymouth .. 67 .. Axe.
(37) .. Isaca.	50 or 57 to Exe .. 17 .. Exe.
65 .. Tamarus.	60 to Tamar.
178 (3×59) to Ocrinum.	69 .. Lizard.
(80) to Bolerium.	29 .. Land's End.
122 (2×61) to Herculis pr.	98 .. Hartland.
193 (3×64) to Sabriana ost.	138 .. Gloucester.

Here, of ten distances round the South Coast, only two are not close to 60 miles or a multiple of that. As the sailing was during summer, in long days, that might well be 18 hours' sail at 3 statute miles an hour. The actual distances, on either of the alternatives, are much less regular. As the eight distances stand in Ptolemy the average is 60, mean difference 4; or if Ptolemy knew of Beachy Head and allowed for rounding it, the seven other distances average 62, mean difference 2. The actual distances of the best part, east of the Exe, have a mean difference of 14 or 12 miles. Hence Ptolemy was here following a scale of equal distances, probably the fullest day's sailing, with two known exceptions.

As to the modern equivalents, the Cantium Pr. must be the South Foreland, as Rutupiaë (Richborough) was 10 miles nearer London. Of the alternative names the difficulties of distances are equal; but in favour of the first column there was a station of the Second Legion 10 miles from Alaunus, and the station of Dorchester is 7 miles from Weymouth, which would thus be Alaunus. Then Dunium would be on the height of Purbeck. The relation of Isca to the Isaca is dealt with among the inland places. The position of Cenion indicates the Fowey, at the headland of which is the Cannis rock.

On the East Coast it was reckoned an equal distance (40 to 44 miles) from the Thames estuary to London, to Idumanius, and to Camulodunum. Taking the estuary as at Southend, this would agree to about 38 miles to London, Maldon, and Colchester. There was no coasting known from Colchester to the Wash, and that distance was taken at only a third of the true length. Nor are there equal distances up the rest of the East Coast.

Round the Welsh coast there is a shorter spacing.

PTOLEMY.	ACTUAL.
<i>Sabrina.</i>	<i>Gloucester.</i>
36 to Rhatostathubius.	58 to Cardiff.
40 „ Tubius.	77 „ Towy.
50 „ Octapitarum.	59 „ St David's Head.
50 „ Tuerobis.	38 „ Teify.
40 „ Stuccia.	38 „ Ystwyth.
42 „ Ganganorum.	63 „ Brach-y-pwll.
38 „ Toesobis.	36 „ Caernarvon.
76 (2 × 38) to Seteia.	51 „ the Dee.

Thus Ptolemy's distances average 42 miles, with mean difference 4; while the actual average of 49, mean difference 15, shows that Ptolemy followed an arbitrary unit of 42 miles for his spacing, as it is much more regular.

Belisama, the Mersey, may be represented by Wallasey on the

corner of the Mersey estuary. Toesobis must be the river Sebint or Seiont at Caernarvon, and may perhaps be Ty-sebint, the "dwelling on the Sebint."

Another region of equal distances is around Scotland, from Longus fl. to Tuaesis estuary.

PTOLEMY.	ACTUAL.
<i>Longus fl.</i>	<i>Loch Linnhe.</i>
112 (2 × 56) to Itis fl.	80 to Loch Alsh.
112 (2 × 56) „ Navaius fl.	82 „ Loch Inver.
54 to Taruidum.	42 „ Cape Wrath.
54 „ Ueruium.	80 „ Duncansby Head.
58 „ High bank.	65 „ Lothbeg Point.
62 „ Uara or Loxa.	40 „ Cromarty Firth (mouth).
52 „ Tuaesis.	43 „ the Spey.

These distances in Ptolemy average 56 miles with a mean difference of 2. Allowing that he erred in reckoning Cape Wrath to Duncansby Head as one day's sail instead of two, the actual average is 43, mean difference 5 miles. It seems, then, that the day's sailing was reckoned by Ptolemy as—

PTOLEMY.	ACTUAL.
South Coast, 62.	52 to Tamar.
Wales, 42.	49
Scotland, 56.	43

There is also a possibility, but not so well defined, of a spacing in equal distances.

PTOLEMY.	ACTUAL.
<i>Metaris.</i>	<i>The Wash.</i>
81 to Ocellum pr.	70 (?) to Spurn Head.
76 „ Dunium sin.	125 (2 × 62) { about Whitby.
78 „ Uedra fl.	

But the uncertainty as to where the Wash was reckoned, and the lack of a clear point for Dunium, prevent this giving a fixed value.

INLAND DISTANCES, ENGLAND.

The many impossible relations of places shown by Ptolemy indicate that we must look for traces of his method of reaching his results, if we are to understand them. There are two modes of attack: one by seeking three or more points in a straight line, which suggests a single line of measurement; the other by taking the distances from a place to every other place around, and seeing which distance agrees with the actual ground. Of course, in this as in the coast distances,

no distance in miles is named by Ptolemy, but from his latitudes and longitudes plotted down we can measure off the distances one or more of which he must have utilised for his positions.

For Daruernum he gives 53 miles from London, and it is lli in the iter, actually 58 miles. The reason for placing it so far south seems to have been that he knew there was a port near it on the south (actually 14 miles), so he placed it 11 miles from Nouus Portus.

London to Rutupiae is 77 miles, and to Richborough is actually 71.

Uenta Belgarum is placed at 69 from Londōn, and is lxvi in the iter, actually 72 miles.

Uenta to Aquae Calidae is placed at 62 miles, actually 60 or 65 by different lines.

Aquae Calidae to Ischalis (Ilchester) is 30 by Ptolemy, and actually so.

Ischalis to the Uexalla (Axe) is 30 by Ptolemy, 29 actually.

The position of Uxella must have been on the Taw near Chulmleigh, where an ancient road line crosses between Dulverton and Hallwall. From this the distances are:—

PTOLEMY.		ACTUAL.	
To Uexalla,	73	69 to Axe.	
and .. Tamare,	36	35 .. Launceston.	
.. .. Tamaris fl.,	53	49 .. Plymouth.	

This close agreement to three points in different directions seems to fix this place well, and to show that these were known road lines.

Tamare is 30 from the Tamaris estuary, and Launceston is 28 to 30 by different roads from Plymouth.

Uoliba is placed at 14 from Tamare, further inland; and at 12 from Launceston is Holla-combe, which may retain the name. The place of Isca is uncertain. Most MSS. say long. 17°, which would agree to its being on the Isaca river running north. The latitude varies from 52° 30' to 50', and 52° 35' seems to have most weight. This would give 81 miles from Aquae Calidae, against 76 actual distance to Exeter. The fusion of Isca and Legio II. in many MSS. is probably due to identity in latitude in the successive entries. That Isca was at Exeter is proved by the distance from Durnovaria in iter xv.

There is much variation in the latitude stated for Noeomagus. But in the text (lib. i, cap. xv.) it is given as 59 miles from Londinium, and it was the city of the Regni. This agrees with Chichester, which is 61 miles from London. The latitude required for this is 53° 15', and MSS. vary as 53° 0', 10', 20', and 25'.

In the south midlands, London to Caleua is 47 in Ptolemy, xlv in the iter, 48 actually to Silchester.

Caleua to Corinium is 44 in Ptolemy, and 50 actually to Cirencester.

Uenta to Corinium is 60 in Ptolemy, and 60 actually; this was then probably the main fixing distance.

Deuana is placed by most MSS. on the position of Uennonae, High Cross, and that was so very important a centre of main roads that it is likely to be named. We must accept that position for Uennonae, although it has been confused with Deva-Chester. This is discussed further at the end.

Corinium to Deuana-Uennonae is 67 (Pt.) and 66 actually. London to Uennonae is 100 (Pt.), xci in the iter, 93 actually. Sabriana = Gleum to Uennonae is 64 (Pt.) and 67 actually. All these distances are so close to the truth that evidently Ptolemy used them in fixing the positions.

A tempting emendation, followed by Müller, is to emend Urolanium as 1° to the south at $54^\circ 30'$ on the London-Uennonae road, where it might be identified with Uerolanium, St Albans. But as Urolanium with Salinae is in the Catyeuchlani, and both in nearly the same latitude, $55^\circ 30'$ and $40'$, it seems impossible to bring it far southward; it should be about Bourn, by the distances from Lindum and Uennonae, and thus be independent of Verulam.

In Wales there are three straight lines of places, and the distances on these are—

PTOLEMY.		ACTUAL.	
Sabriana to Bullaeum,	54.	55 Gloucester to Glasbury.	
Bullaeum „ Stuccia,	52.	57 Glasbury „ Ystwith.	
Stuccia „ Uiroconium,	63.	71 Ystwith „ Wroxeter.	

Maridunum is obviously on the Tubius, at 12 miles from the mouth, and Caer-marthen is at 11 miles up the river, and evidently retains the name.

The Midlands are in a confused state, as, owing to having placed York a degree too far north of London, there is a dearth of material to occupy such a space. First, as to Metaris, which is some part of the Wash. Norfolk was formerly much more insulated, and the Wash extended up to the isle of Ely. The distance from Idumanus, or Sidumanus, the Blackwater river, to Metaris is 53 miles in Ptolemy, and from Lindum to Metaris is 78 miles. From the Blackwater at Maldon to Thetford, south of Ely, is 58 miles, and from Lincoln to Thetford is 85 miles. These are so near to Ptolemy's distances that they were probably the lines on which Ptolemy's positions were based. Another line of connection is, Lindum to Mediolanum 108 miles, and actually 109 to Whitchurch. Lincoln may also possibly be cross-fixed by the distance from Deuana-Uennonae, which is 52 miles in Ptolemy, against 65 miles actually. What,

then, is to be made of Petuaria? There is no proof of connection with the Humber, and the distances from Metaris 76 miles, and Eboracum 59 miles, agree closely with the direct distance from Thetford 77 miles to Lincoln, and thence 61 miles to York. The distances, therefore, suggest that Petuaria is a synonym of Lindum, or close to it. In favour of this duplication by Ptolemy, Petuaria is the city of the Parisi, and Paris was a district round Horncastle east of Lincoln, from which came Matthew of Paris. Possibly Potter Hanworth, 6 miles S.E. of Lincoln, may be an echo of the name Petuaria. Beyond York, Ptolemy gives—

<i>Eboracum.</i>	<i>York via Leeds.</i>
41 to Olicana.	40 to Ilkley <i>via</i> Ripley.
70 „ Uinnouion.	65 „ Binchester.

He evidently had this route before him, though he did not know that it doubled back at a sharp angle, but supposed it straight, and so ran Uinnouion out to the west coast instead of being near the east.

From this misplacement of Uinnouion and the wrong distance of York from London, it is clear that Ptolemy had not the Antonine iters before him. The distances north of York are—

BY PTOLEMY.	ITER.	ACTUAL.
<i>Eboracum.</i>		<i>York.</i>
24 to Isurium.	xvii	17 to Boroughbridge.
26 .. Caturactonium.	xxiv	25 „ Catterick.
38 .. Uedra.		35 „ Chester-le-Street on Wear.

These distances show that the excess of latitude between the observed points at York and Catterick was thrown on to the York-Boroughbridge distance by Ptolemy.

The further distance from Uedra to Bremenium is only 40 in Ptolemy, but 52 miles actually.

Along the coast—

BY PTOLEMY.	ACTUALLY.
<i>Uedra.</i>	<i>Wear (39 to Alne).</i>
60 to Alaunus.	71 to Tweed.
38 .. Boderia.	40 „ North Berwick.

These are quite near enough for approximations by coasting distances, but seem to put Alaunus at the Tweed, and not at the Alne. This complicates the Bremenium distance of 35 miles to Alaunus; from Rochester to Alnmouth is 31 and to the Tweed 41 miles. Probably the latter was intended, and was the mode of fixing Bremenium.

The width across Northumberland was well known, as from the Uedra



country with devious tracks. The actual distances are those measured along river lines and present roads, in the most likely course.

Why all these distances are doubled we can hardly guess. It might be due to having exaggerated coasting distances, but if so there cannot have been any road lengths known. It might more likely be due to a local habit of counting in the mile a thousand single paces, instead of double paces, and so recording in half miles instead of whole miles.

The strange projection of Nouantum from between the two bays shows that different materials were here used. The bays and estuaries are what almost entirely attract the coasting record, and were probably fixed thus between Abrauannus and Clota. The position of Nouantum is due to one of the doubled distances from Alauna, and hence far beyond the bays.

It is along the possible lines of road from Glasgow to the coast that search should be made, at the right distances, for the various inland towns. At a first view we may expect Curia at Courance, south of Moffat, which is the exact distance; Trimontium, west of the Annan, possibly the coast hills at Cummertrees; Uxellum at Caerlaverock; Coria between Strathavon and Muirkirk; Lindum about Dalpedder, below Leadhills; Corda 4 miles north or north-east of Carsphairn; Carbantorigum near New Galloway; Lucopibia about Dromore east of Newton Stewart; Uanduara would be 17 miles from Alauna, and Doura is 20 miles from Glasgow, near Kilwinning. These positions are all on the obvious lines of road, and should be searched before looking elsewhere.

THE HIGHLANDS.

The only internal places in the Highlands are on one straight line from Clota to Tuaesis estuary (the Spey). This line can be fairly traced by its holding to the valley of the Spey as far as possible, and at the south end holding to Loch Lomond, to avoid the bending further to the west. Thus we can follow it clearly as—

Tuaesis est.

82 to Tameia.

39 „ Banatia.

70 „ Clota.

Spey.

By Glen Truim—
83 to Little Dalwhinnie.

By Loch Lydoch—
39 to Orchy Bridge.

By Loch Lomond, Cardross, Shaw's
Water—
68 to Polteath at mouth of Firth
of Clyde.

Of course, there is nothing fixed of these but the termini; the intermediate points are only stated to show whereabouts they must fall on

such a line. The alternative road by Fort William and Inveraray would be too long, and would not use the excellent road of Loch Lomond. From the close agreement of the total distance above, it seems certain that Ptolemy had a good statement to go by along this road.

Regarding the places along the East Coast there is a general agreement of scale, but much minor variation.

<i>Boderia.</i>	<i>Forth.</i>
51 to Tina fl.	35 to 65 to Eden.
40 „ Taua est.	10 „ Tay.
40 „ Deua fl.	60 „ Dee.
60 „ Tæzalorum pr.	47 „ Kinnaird Head.
29 „ Celnus fl.	34 „ Cullen.
20 „ Tuaesis est.	12 „ Spey.
30 „ Alata Castra.	35 „ Nairn.
26 „ Uara est.	30 „ Dingwall.
44 „ Loxa fl.	54 „ Evlex Water.
19 „ High Bank.	24 „ Lothbeg Point.
38 „ Ila fl.	40 „ Wick Bay.
20 „ Ueruvium pr.	19 „ Duncansby Head.

Of these distances we may note the following:—From the Forth at North Berwick across to the Eden may vary between 35 and 65 miles according to extent of open sea crossed. The Eden of Carlisle is the Ituna, and so the Eden of Cupar would compare with the Tina. The distance of 40 miles from the Eden to the Tay may be due to being reported up to Perth; between the estuary mouths it is only 10 miles. The Dee is placed about 15 miles too near the Tay, perhaps due to their being stated at a whole degree apart. Deuana by its position is evidently on the Don. Alata Castra, if in this series of positions, must fall at Nairn, though as a strategic point it would be expected to be at Inverness. Uara (some MSS. have Uarar) may be connected with Glen Gowrie and Loch Gorran, which run into the head of Cromarty Firth near Dingwall; this name might have extended down to the Firth. Loxa seems connected with Evlex Water, which runs into Dornoch Firth. The $\delta\chi\theta\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\psi\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}$ does not imply a headland or mountain, but a high bank of earth, such as a ridge or high sea-wall which cut off the view inland from a ship. By the distance this would come about Lothbeg Point.

The Cantire coast is a great difficulty, as there seems to be no room for it in Ptolemy. Certainly he had no material to construct any approximation to the complex of promontories and firths between the Clyde mouth and Loch Linnhe. Lemannonius by its name would belong to the River Leven and Loch Lomond; but no connection by distances seems possible, as it should be between Banatia and Clota. The reading

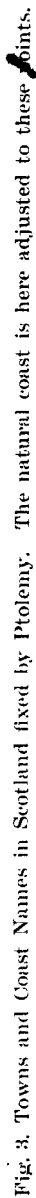
varies as Lelaannonius; as this might be a MS. corruption of Leggannonius, it would connect with Laggon at the mouth of Loch Fyne, which is evidently the inlet in question.

The two islands of Toliapis and Counus between Kent and the Continent appear to have been reckoned as at a normal day's sail from Cantium pr. to Toliapis, and another to Counus. To understand these we should refer to Clement Reid's *Submerged Forests*, where the map on page 40 shows that these islands would have been on the ridge between the old Thames Valley and Channel Valley. As the submergence probably took place about as long before Ptolemy as we are after him, it is quite likely that this ridge, which would be about the last part to be attacked by the sea, might have remained still as a couple of islands in the time of Ptolemy. We must remember that the evidence of the forest beds shows that there was no Channel sea during the Neolithic period, but from England across to Denmark was continuous land.

Several uncertainties of the MSS., which do not much affect the general view, have not been noticed so far. The more serious of these are the following:—In Scotland, Loxa and Uara are both uncertain in position. Beside the places of the usual text here plotted, there is considerable authority for placing Loxa in Cromarty Firth in the place of Uara, and Uara into Inverness Firth. For Boderia there is much authority for $58^{\circ} 45'$ and less for 59° ; neither place would make a difference in the identification—it would only be a matter of how far along the Firth of Forth the site was fixed. Alaunus is by a few MSS. put at $21^{\circ} 20'$, which would agree better with the distance from the Wear to the Alne, but it would throw out the distance from Bremenium. Carbantorigum has much authority for $59^{\circ} 30'$ lat.; if it were so it would be on the Alauna-Lindum-Nouius road.

In England, Camunlodunum is uncertain in position—usually put at $18^{\circ} 15'$, also at 18° and $18^{\circ} 45'$. The latitude in the usual text is 57° , but all the MSS. appear to give $57^{\circ} 45'$. This would put it just half way on the road from Olicana to Uinnouium, at about Middleham in Wensleydale.

Deuana is an intricate case. In the older versions down to Nobbe the place is $18^{\circ} 30'$, $55^{\circ} 0'$, with the Twentieth Legion. Such exactly accords with Uennonae, High Cross. The MSS. are three with $17^{\circ} 10'$, one altered to $17^{\circ} 30'$, and twelve with $18^{\circ} 30'$; latitudes, four MSS. of 53° , four of 55° , four of $55^{\circ} 30'$, one $56^{\circ} 45'$. Hence there is only a single reading that will agree with Deva-Chester, and the Twentieth Legion that was stationed there, according to the iter; but the Uennonae position is given by nearly all the longitudes, and by as many MSS. for its latitude as there are for any other. How all this came about it is impossible to say without



an exhaustive study of the relationships of the MSS. throughout the whole *Geographia*. As an hypothesis we may expect that the original reading was—

Uenmona	18° 30'	55° 0'
Deuana	17 10	56 45
Legio XX. Victrix—		
Uiroconium . . .	16 45	55 45

Then by confusion in a very early MS. the -ona ending was confused with the -ana, and Deuana put to 18° 30', and Uenmona and 17° 10' dropped out. This must have been before dividing the towns by the tribal sections, as we cannot suppose Uennonae to be in the Cornavii like Deua-Chester, as Ratae and Lindum were in the Coritani.

Another difficulty is about Salinae. The reading of Nobbe, 16°, cannot be right, as it is with Urolanium in the Catyeuchlani. The MSS. have 20° 10' in sixteen cases, and 20° 45' in twelve cases. For the latitude, three are of 55° 20', six of 55° 40', nine of 55° 50'. From all these it must have been near Norfolk; and, by its link to Urolanium, probably at 20° 10', which in the MS. goes with 55° 40', so rather west of Metaris.

In this paper I have not attempted to take into account the other sources outside of Ptolemy. Here we only try to ascertain what Ptolemy used, and how he worked. The full study of the geography must take in many other sources of information.

APPENDIX.

The following cases serve to test the relative values of the texts adopted by Nobbe (N) and by Müller (M):—

Clota is in the coasting list, and 59° 40' for it (N) agrees with the breadth across to the Forth, while 59° 20' (M) would be only about half the breadth.

Bullaeum, 16° 20' (N), lies in a straight line between Sabriana and Stuccia; but if it is 16° 50' (M), it would not be in line. Darouernum is put at 54° by M, on the strength of a single MS. at Constantinople. If so, it would be only 44 miles from Londinium. But if 53° 40' (N), it comes to 52 miles from London, exactly as the Antonine itinerary; the actual distance is 58 miles.

Noeomagus, M puts at 53° 5' without any MS., solely because it is said to be 59 miles from Londinium. That distance, however, would bring it to 53° 15' on the map. The various readings are 53°, 53° 10', 53° 20', and 53° 25'.

Ischalis is taken at 16° by M (with the Florentine MS.), which would put it on the coast, yet it is not in the coast list. 16° 40' (N), as in most

MSS., puts it between Aquae Calidae and Uexalla, and it agrees thus exactly with the distances to Ilchester, which was a Roman station by its name.

Uenta, on the Florentine authority, is put at 53° (M), close to Magnus Portus, while Winchester is far from a port. Most MSS. give $53^{\circ} 30'$ (as N), which is 69 miles from London, and Winchester is actually 72. Uoliba is put at 52° by M, trusting the Florentines, which would put it on the coast, but it is not in the coast list. The $52^{\circ} 20'$ (N) of all other MSS. places it rightly on the Tamar, inland. These test cases, where collateral facts help to decide between MSS., all show that the other readings, such as those of Nobbe, are mostly to be preferred to the version drawn up by Müller.

II.

NOTICE OF A HARP-SHAPED FIBULA FOUND ON THE ESTATE OF POLMAISE, STIRLINGSHIRE, AND OF ANOTHER IN THE PERTH MUSEUM. BY J. GRAHAM CALLANDER, SECRETARY.

THE POLMAISE BROOCH.

Through the courtesy of Major A. B. Murray, of Polmaise, I am able to illustrate here a harp-shaped fibula which was found in 1850, in digging a drain in that part of the field of Bannockburn which is now incorporated in the farm of Newpark, on the estate of Polmaise, a short distance from Stirling. It was handed over to the Murray family, in whose possession it has remained.

The brooch (figs. 1 and 2) measures $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch across the top, and is made of brass. As it was found in boggy ground, where it had remained under constant damp conditions, it is in an unusually good state of preservation, and in working order. But, apparently, the pin of the hinge having been broken or worn through, the original pin has been replaced by one made of copper.

The bow of the brooch rises higher than the cross-piece, and the top is surmounted by a ridge or crest placed slightly to the rear of the highest point, and bordered laterally by incised converging lines. In front of and below the crest is a rounded moulding, which, gradually increasing in width, extends down the front of the bow for rather more than one-third of its length, and terminates in a rounded curve. A small round knob, connected with the bow by a collar ornamented with a wavy line between single, straight, marginal mouldings on either side, forms

the terminal at the foot of the brooch. Between the bow and the catch for the pin there is a catch-plate bordered on the back with a trumpet-shaped moulding, and pierced with intersecting circles, and trumpet-shaped and crescentic openings, for the greater part bordered by a single, graved line, a feature occurring only on one side of the plate.

In this brooch there is no top ring, the cross-piece is solid, and the pin, instead of being supplied with a spiral spring, is hinged. The out-

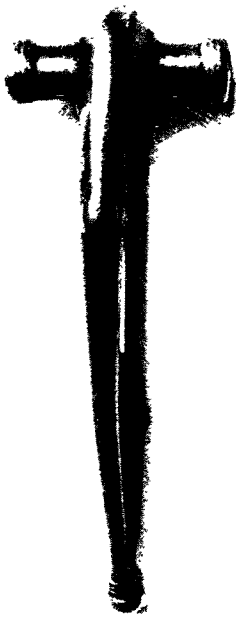


Fig. 1. Fibula at Polmaise. (3.)



Fig. 2. Fibula at Polmaise (side view). (4.)

line of the section of the cross-piece exhibits no circular curves, but instead presents two conchoidal curves of different sizes placed face to face. The spring action of the pin is achieved by a shoulder below the hinge pressing against the inner side of the top of the bow. At either extremity of the cross-piece is a rounded flange decorated with a wavy pattern bordered with straight mouldings round the circumference, and there are three small incised circles on the ends, the riveted ends of the hinge pin forming a fourth circle.

Two brooches of very similar shape, with hinged pin and solid cross-

piece, were found during the excavations of 1914 in the fort of Dün-pender, on Traprain Law, in East Lothian, in the lowest and highest levels of occupation. From the associated relics recovered from these layers it was considered that they dated to about the beginning of the second and possibly the beginning of the fourth centuries A.D., respectively.¹ Both of these fibulæ were inlaid with enamel, and bore a socket for a stud on the upper part of the bow, forms of ornamentation not present on the brooch described. The ornamental *motif* of a wavy line between single marginal mouldings seen on the extremities of the head, and on the terminal at the foot, occurs on a brooch found in the Roman fort at Newstead, but in this case it is displayed longitudinally along the front of the bow.² The general shape of this brooch is very like that of the Polmaise example, but the pin has a covered coiled spring. Its date is placed provisionally in the second century. A brooch bearing a very strong resemblance in general outline to the brooch under review, but supplied with a spring pin, was found with a hoard of late-Celtic objects at Polden Hill, Somerset.

The supersession of the pin with a spiral spring by one with a simple hinge, in the case of the Polmaise brooch, points to a late date in the development of this class of ornament, but the decoration is characteristically late-Celtic.

THE PERTH BROOCH.

In the Museum at Perth there are several important relics dating to the Romano-British period, among which is a particularly fine harp-shaped fibula of bronze or brass. It has been referred to in the *Proceedings*, vol. xxii. p. 340; but, as it is an outstanding example of its class and exhibits features not seen, so far as I am aware, in any other Scottish brooch, I have had a photograph taken and reproduced in fig. 3.

Unfortunately, the localities where the brooch and the other relics were found are not known, but it is quite probable that they were discovered near Perth, on some of the Roman sites in the neighbourhood such as the fort of Orrea at Bertha, the forts in Strathearn, or even the fort at Ardoch. It is known that a number of relics have been found at the first-mentioned place; and as it lies within two miles of the town, it is not unlikely that some of the objects discovered would find their way into the collection of the local Antiquarian Society, which was founded in the end of the eighteenth century, though no record of any such donations is known to exist.

Of unusually massive dimensions, the brooch measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. xlix. pp. 166 and 169, fig. 23, No. 7, and fig. 24, No. 3.

² James Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post—Newstead*, p. 318, pl. lxxxv., No. 5.

length and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in breadth across the top. Encircling the bow at its extreme forward projection is a pronounced collar or moulding of geometrical design, consisting of a transverse row of spikelets of pyramidal form, but with hollow sides, rising from a base shaped like a four-rayed star, bordered on either margin by half pellets with their bisecting lines following the line of the outer edges of the collar.

The top portion of the bow expands and so forms the cross-piece. By bending back the edges and ends of the cross-piece a box of semicircular section was formed, within which was placed the coiled spring of the pin. The expanded top is decorated with a series of typical trumpet-shaped designs in low relief, certain of the divisional lines in the hollows being milled. The slight expansions at the ends of the cross-piece are ornamented with a milled line between single, plain, marginal beadings. The back of the cross-piece, which consists of a rectangular plate, is maintained in position by the lapping over of the edges and ends of the cross-piece, and it is pierced at the centre by an oval perforation through which the pin was connected with its spiral spring. There are indications of the head of a rivet on either end of the cross-piece, which look like the

terminations of an axial wire that had passed through the coil of the spring for the purpose of keeping it in position. The pin, spring, and axial wire have been broken off and are amissing.

Surmounting the top of the fibula is a heavy, rigid loop, clasped in between the ring portion of the loop and the top of the brooch by a flat

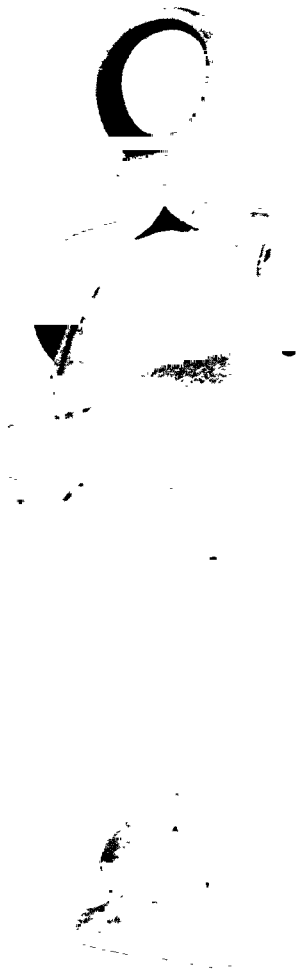


Fig. 3. Fibula in Perth Museum. (A.)

collar which is ornamented with a band of short, vertical, straight lines between narrow, flat margins; the joint of the collar, which is at the back, is open and not brazed or soldered. After emerging from below the collar, the ends of the thick wire forming the loop are carried transversely across the top of the brooch and then vertically down the ends, into which they are countersunk.

Quite a different design and class of ornamentation appear on the lower portion of the bow. Immediately below the heavy moulding with which it is encircled is a flat, oblong space bearing four milled lines placed transversely, under which is a long, narrow, flat panel occupied with transverse lozenges alternating with triangular spaces, both filled with enamel, the colour of the enamel in the lozenges being yellow and in the triangles red. The yellow enamel is well preserved, but the red enamel is more or less cracked, and small portions have fallen out.

The terminal at the foot of the brooch consists of a large, shallow cup, with the mouth pointing downwards but slightly inclined to the front. Above the cup, but separated from it by a milled line, is a bulbous protuberance ornamented with divergent curves. Apparently the cup had been filled with enamel, possibly red in colour, as the hollow contains a quantity of rusty-looking material of granular texture.

Behind the lower part of the bow is a solid catch-plate, with the edge turned up at the back to form the catch.

The surface of the metal of the brooch is generally in good condition, and in some places is covered with a smooth, lustrous, green patina.

The fibula exhibits in a marked degree the special characteristics of one of the varieties of the La Tène brooch as it was developed in Britain. the large box foot, the pronounced moulding round the bow, the top ring, and the enamelling being typical of the harp-shaped brooches found in this country.

Evidently this ornament belongs to a late part of the period during which harp-shaped fibulae were fashioned in Britain. The ornamentation of the moulding round the bow has become debased, because, though curvilinear, it is geometrical, the earlier examples showing designs on this part of the brooch formed by divergent curves which might be called floriated. Though the loop at the top has not yet become an integral part of the brooch, it is rigid instead of free, and marks a more advanced stage of development than a somewhat similar fibula, with heavy moulding round the bow, found in the lowest level of occupation at Traprain, in which the loop, formed by an extension of an axial wire through the coils of the spring which was exposed at the back, was kept in position by a spike extending from the top of the brooch through the collar round the loop.¹

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. 1, p. 98, fig. 22, No. 1.

The date of the layer in which it was found was considered to be about the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D. On the other hand, it is earlier than another brooch with a heavy bow collar found at the same site but in the second layer. In this example the ring formed an integral part of the brooch, which had also a solid cross-piece and a hinged pin.¹ The date provisionally given to this deposit was the Antonine period, 140 to 180 A.D. If we could be certain that the dates suggested for the brooches found at Traprain were correct, we might assign the Perth fibula to the first half of the second century A.D. Whatever be its exact date, the brooch supplies a link in the evolution of the looped fibulæ, as it shows the penultimate stage in the development of the loop, just before it was cast in one piece along with the rest of the ornament. When its enamelling is compared with that found on other brooches it will be noted that lozenge designs on flat panels in front of the bow occur on other three fibulæ found in Scotland, but these are of a rather different type, as the entire front of the bow is flat, there is no encircling collar on the bow, and the pins are hinged.² They were found at Newstead, near the surface, and were tentatively assigned to the Antonine period.

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. xlix. p. 168, fig. 23, No. 2.

² *A Roman Frontier Post—Newstead*, p. 324, pl. lxxxvi. figs. 19, 20, and 23.

III.

REPORT OF THE EXCAVATION OF TWO CISTS FOUND IN MAKING
A GOLF COURSE BETWEEN LONGNIDDRY AND PORT SETON.

BY ALEXANDER O. CURLE, DIRECTOR OF THE MUSEUM.

A golf course was in process of being laid out last summer on sandy ground formerly covered with wood which lies on either side of Longniddry Dean and stretches for a mile or thereby to the south of the coast road from Cockenzie to Aberlady. The original surface swells here and there in slight mounds, ancient sand-dunes, such as one is accustomed to meet with along a low-lying coast-line.

In the spring of 1915 a cist was discovered towards the east end of the wood, as already reported in our *Proceedings*.¹ On 30th June of this year, having been kindly informed by Mr Connor, Lord Wemyss's factor, that another cist had been located, I went down and made an inspection of it. The site lay about a quarter of a mile to the west of that where the previous discovery had been made, and some 40 yards in from the road, near the centre of a slight ridge running parallel to the coast-line.

The cist was a small one, formed of comparatively light stones, which had, owing no doubt to their being placed in sand, somewhat shifted their position. The covering slab, 2 feet or thereby below the present surface, measured 2 feet 7 inches in length by 1 foot 8 inches in breadth. It no longer rested directly on the ends and sides of the structure, and lay with its main axis north and south (magnetic).

Within the cist lay a skeleton in well-preserved condition, though the skull had been broken by the falling in of the slab at the north end, while further dilapidation had crushed the feet bones. The skeleton, in a flexed position, lay partially on its left side turned to the east, the face turned somewhat upwards and the limbs drawn up to the left. Only one tooth remained in the skull, and that very much worn. The skull was pronounced by Professor Bryce to be that of an aged individual, who had survived the loss of teeth long enough to permit of an absorption of the alveolar margins on the jaws and the disappearance of the sockets.

The original length of the cist, judging from the skeleton, had been about 3 feet 4 inches.

No relics whatever were found to indicate the period of the inhumation.

On 6th July I received intimation from Mr Hart, foreman in charge at the golf course, that another cist had been discovered, and on Monday the 9th I again visited the place.

¹ Vol. I. p. 150.

At a point where there had been a sand-dune, and where a bunker was in course of construction, some 40 yards to the east of the farm road leading from Seton Mains to the coast road, and some 60 yards inwards from the latter, the cist had been partially uncovered (fig. 1). The covering slab, the east side, and the south end were exposed. The covering slab, which was oblong and almost rectangular, was of sandstone, and measured 5 feet 5 inches in length by 2 feet 6 inches in breadth and from 6 to 8 inches in thickness. It lay almost horizontally, but was not supported by the slabs forming the outline of the grave which merely seemed to rest against it at their upper ends.

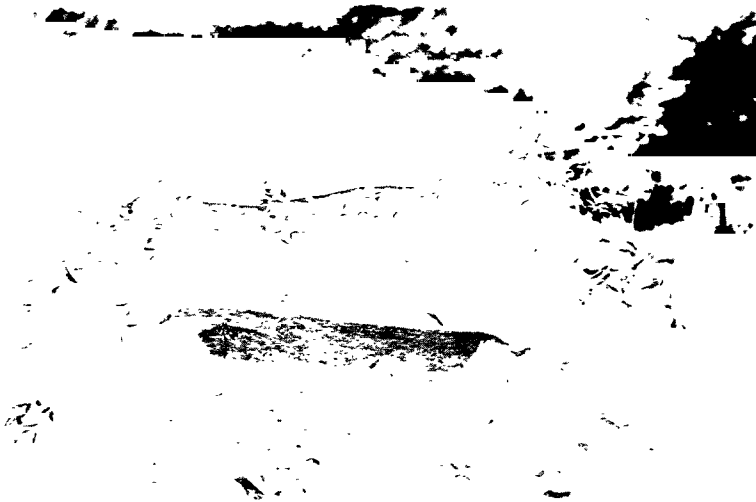


Fig. 1. Cist on Longniddry Golf Course.

The main axis pointed to 30 degrees east of north (magnetic). Four slabs, varying in length from 7 inches to 1 foot 11 inches, and in height from 18 to 20 inches, formed the east side and extended the full length of the grave cover. At the south end, one only, 1 foot 8½ inches in length, remained upright and in position. A double row of four slabs each formed the west side, while those which had formed the north end had apparently disappeared.

On the covering slab being raised there was found towards the south end, extending over an area of about 3 feet by 2, a deposit of sand, some 4 inches thick, blackened and immixed with charcoal, and with burnt bones scattered throughout it. Interposed between this deposit and the covering slab lay a small slab measuring 1 foot 8 inches by 2 feet. The

circumstance that the cover lay directly on the burial deposit and within the lines of enclosing stones indicated, I think, that after the interment had taken place, owing to the great weight of the slab, it had pressed out the walls and settled down directly on the bottom, and the small slab found beneath it may in reality have been one of the stones from the south end, as the existing stone there was not of sufficient length to extend the whole breadth.

On the level with the deposit, and chiefly noticeable along the east side, were found in the cist a number of brightly coloured red pebbles from 3 to 5 inches in length, evidently specially selected from the beach on account of their attractive appearance, and neatly placed point inwards from the edge.

No relics were found, but a small quantity of tawny-coloured earth, at one spot only, may have represented an urn long since crushed to powder by the weight of the superincumbent cover. Among the pieces of charcoal from the deposit of discoloured sand was picked up one-half of a hazel nut.

Beyond revealing that they had been those of an adult, the bones were too fragmentary to enable any conclusion to be drawn from them.

I have pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to Professor Bryce for examining these scanty human remains.

IV.

STONE CIST FOUND AT KILDINNY, NEAR FORTEVIOT, PERTHSHIRE.

BY HENRY COATES, F.S.A.Scot.

On 16th November 1917 a stone cist was discovered in a stubble field on the farm of Kildinny, in the parish of Forteviot, tenanted by Mr Peter M'Arthur. The site is 480 yards WSW. of Kildinny farm-steading, 14 yards north of the road leading from the village of Forteviot to the farm, and about half a mile east of the Parish Church of Forteviot. The foreman on the farm, William Bennet, when preparing a potato pit, struck what appeared to be rock surface about 5 inches below the surface of the ground. Having previously come upon the same obstruction when ploughing the field in spring, he resolved to investigate it further. On removing the soil, he found it to be a large slab of stone, resting on four other slabs placed on edge, the whole forming a chamber, the interior of which was entirely filled with soil. He next removed one of the end stones, and began to remove the soil from the chamber. In doing so he exposed a human skull, lying in the south corner of the cist, with the face uppermost. His spade, unfortunately, struck the skull, and broke it into several fragments. He then replaced the skull in its original position in the corner of the cist, and covered it with one or two thin pieces of sandstone which he had found in the soil inside the cist.

On the following day, Saturday, 17th November, I visited the spot, along with Mr Thomas M'Laren, Depute Burgh Surveyor, Perth, and Mr J. J. Simpson, factor on Dupplin estate, when we made a thorough examination of the cist, its contents, and surroundings. Photographs were taken of the cist, and also of the skull, before anything was disturbed, and careful measurements were made by Mr M'Laren. The longer axis of the cist was from NE. to SW. The interior measurement at the top was 2 feet 10 inches in length by 2 feet 2½ inches in width. The cover stone was an irregular slab measuring 3 feet 7 inches in length by 2 feet 6 inches in width, and 6 inches thick. Its upper surface had been about 5 inches below the general level of the ground. As will be seen from the plan, the cover stone was not sufficient to cover the chamber completely, vacancies being left at the corners. The foreman had noticed that the west corner in particular had not been covered. It is possible that the thin pieces of sandstone already referred to, which were found in the soil inside the cist, may have been used to cover these vacant spaces. The stones are all roughly square blocks of

the Old Red Sandstone of the district, varying in thickness from 3 to 9 inches. The soil found in the interior was a reddish-brown sandy loam, similar to the soil of the surrounding field. Scattered through it, however, were a number of pebbles, some rounded and others angular.

STONE CIST NEAR FORTEVIOT, PERTHSHIRE.

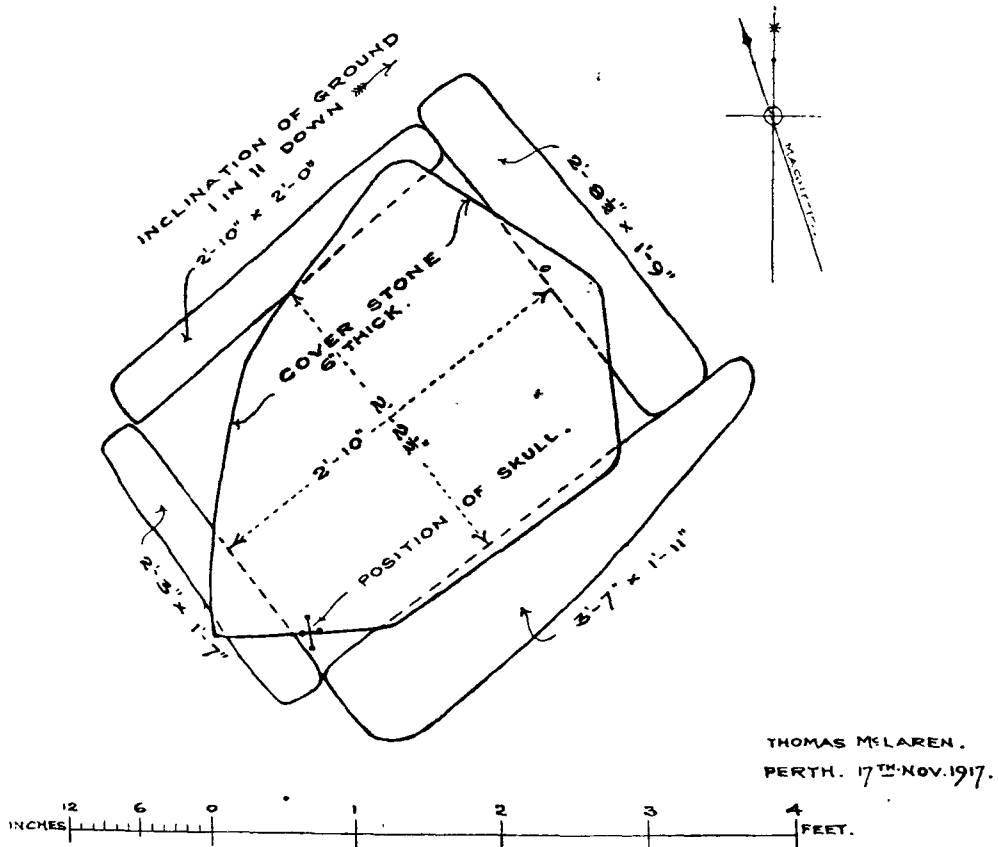


Fig. 1.

The skull was lying close into the south corner, facing NNW., the top of it being 1 foot 6 inches below the cover. Along with it were found seventeen loose teeth, and one or two fragments of the jaw, but no other bones. After carefully removing the skull, the soil in the bottom of the cist, as well as that which had been taken out by the foreman, was carefully sifted and examined. Nothing, however, was found in it, beyond the pebbles already referred to. About 2 feet below

the cover stone a layer of gravel was reached, which was found to be hard and difficult to excavate. At a depth of 4 feet 9 inches beneath the surface of the ground a deposit of clay was met with, which was probably the Boulder Clay.

It is interesting to note that the road leading from Forteviot village to the site of the cist is known as the "Kirk Brae," and there is a tradition amongst the old residents that a church once stood near this spot. The name "Kildinny" would seem to support this tradition.

Both the cist and the skull have been removed to the Antiquarian Museum in Perth.

MONDAY, 14th January 1918.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD ABERCROMBY, LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were elected Fellows:—

The Rev. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM MACGREGOR. Manse of Covington,
Thankerton,
MACKENZIE S. SHAW. W.S., 1 Thistle Court.

On the motion of Dr George Macdonald the Society passed the following resolution, to be inscribed in their Minutes:—

"The Society have learned with the greatest gratification that Dryburgh Abbey is to become the property of the nation, and they deem it right to record their warm appreciation of Lord Glenconner's munificent generosity."

There was exhibited by Mrs R. Finnie McEwen of Marchmont, the Marchmont Standard. (See subsequent communication by Sir James Balfour Paul.)

The following Donations to the Library were announced and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By the CURATOR OF THE CORPORATION MUSEUM OF LOCAL
ANTIQUITIES, Colchester.

Report of the Museum and Muniment Committee for the Year ended
31st March 1916.

- (2) By ROBERT MURDOCH LAWRENCE, Cairnchina, 23 Ashley Road, Aberdeen, the Author.

A Seventeenth-century Panel. Reprinted from *The Aberdeen Book-Lover*, November 1917. Pamphlet.

- (3) By G. A. ROSENBERG, Sealls Alle 10, Copenhagen, the Author.

Antiquités en Fer et en Bronze, leur Transformation dans la Terre contenant de l'acide carbonique et des chlorures et leur Conservation. Copenhagen, 1917. 8vo.

- (4) By Messrs SOTHEY & Co., 34 and 35 New Bond Street, London, W. 1.

Notes on the History of Sotheby's. By G. D. Hobson, M.A., F.S.A., a Partner in the Firm. (With schedule of the principal sales held up to 1917.) London, 1917. 8vo.

The following Communications were read:—

I.

A SCULPTURED RELIEF OF THE ROMAN PERIOD AT COLINTON.

By GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

Some weeks ago Mrs Turnbull of Hailes asked the Director of our Museum whether he could throw any light on the age or character of a sculptured relief which was built into the southern face of the north wall of her garden, immediately above the gate that lies to the west of the mansion; she had long known of its existence, but her attention had recently been directed to it afresh, when a wisteria, by which it was overgrown, was being pruned. Mr Curle was good enough to invite my co-operation in the matter. As the result of a joint visit to the spot, I have now the privilege of laying before the Society a brief account of an extremely interesting and hitherto unidentified monument of the Roman occupation of Scotland.

To all who are familiar with the provincial art of the Western Empire the illustration (fig. 1), which is reproduced from an admirable photograph taken by Miss Dorothy Mackenzie, will speak for itself. The slab, or so much of it as survives, has a maximum length of 21 inches and a maximum height of 19¼ inches.¹ At one time it may have formed

¹ It may be convenient to put one or two further details of measurement upon record. The height of the most complete of the seated figures is 15 inches, and the breadth of each of the three, from left to right, is 5½ inches, 5½ inches, and 6½ inches respectively. The greatest depth of the relief is 1½ inch.

part of the upper half of an altar. On that point it would scarcely be possible to express an opinion, unless the stone could be detached from its present surroundings for an examination of the fractures, and perhaps even then the verdict would not be an agreed one. What is beyond question is that we have here a very substantial remnant of a dedication to the threefold group of "mother goddesses," whose worship

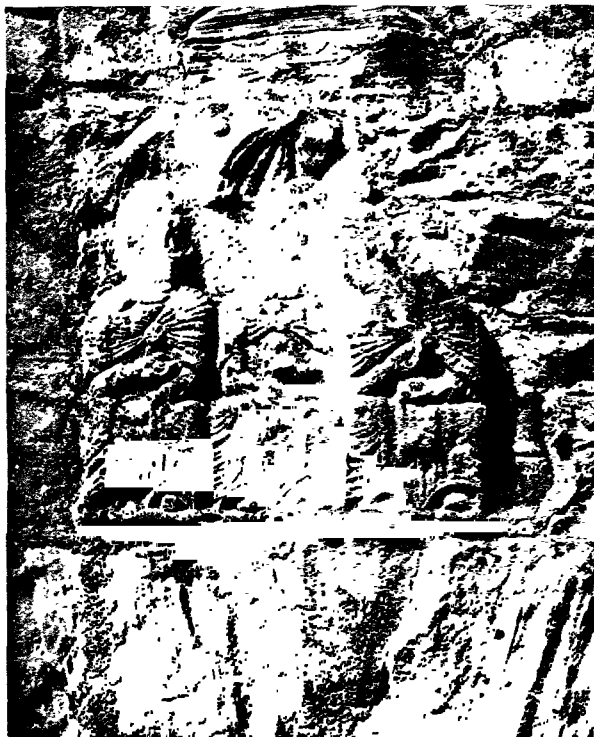


Fig. 1. Relief at Colinton.

was so popular in certain districts during the earliest centuries of the Christian era. A very exhaustive discussion of the cult of these "mothers" in its various aspects was contributed to the *Bonner Jahrbücher* by the late Professor Max Ihm in 1887.¹ English readers will find all the essential facts lucidly and succinctly summarised by Professor Haverfield in *Archæologia Aeliana* for 1891.² A reference to either of

¹ *Op. cit.*, Heft lxxxiii, pp. 1-200, from which figs. 2-6 have been reproduced. Cf. also the same scholar's article, "Matres, Matronæ, Matræ," in Roscher's *Lexicon*, vol. ii. (1894-97), pp. 2464 ff.

² *Op. cit.* (N.S.), vol. xv. (1892) pp. 314-339, with Map. Fig. 7 has been reproduced from this paper.

these authorities will show that there were three Latin variants of the dominant title of the goddesses. In Britain and at Rome they are always *Matres*, and the form occurs sporadically elsewhere. In Lower Germany and in Gallia Cisalpina—in one or other, or both, of which regions the cult was probably indigenous—they are usually known as *Matronæ*, while in Upper Germany and in Gallia Narbonensis the Celtic form *Matræ* is a tolerably common variant for *Matres*.

Though ancient literature does not give us even a whispered hint



Fig. 2. Relief from Rödingen.

as to the existence of the "mother goddesses," as many as four or five hundred monuments relating to their worship have survived. Some of these are reliefs; some are inscriptions; many are combinations of the two. In type the new example from Colinton conforms generally to the varieties already recorded from elsewhere. But it presents a few peculiarities which it may be just worth while to emphasise. The best way of bringing these into prominence will be to glance for a moment at one or two of the more familiar among the published specimens.

None is more characteristic than that found at Rödingen (fig. 2), and dedicated to the *Matronæ Gesahene* by Julius Valentinus and Julia

Justina. It will be observed that the goddesses are seated side by side on a bench within what has been an *adnicula* or miniature shrine. Each holds upon her knees a flat basket filled with fruit. The two on the outside wear a quaint head-dress which Ihm is probably right in interpreting, not as an attribute specially associated with the "mothers," but rather as an indication of contemporary feminine fashion. Very similar is the altar from Cologne (fig. 3), erected to the *Matronæ Affliæ* by Marius

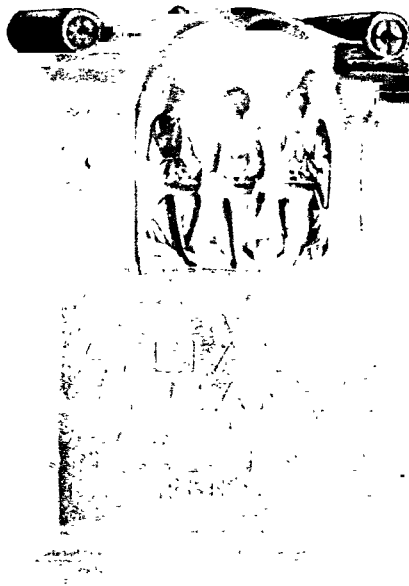


Fig. 3. Altar at Cologne.

Marcellus. Here, however, particular note should be taken of the shell-like canopy that forms the roof. The same feature, as well as the quaint head-dress, recurs on a relief from Mümling-Crumbach (fig. 4), which is, moreover, remarkable as showing the central figure raised upon a dais. Passing further south, we find in the Stuttgart Museum a very different representation from Zatzhausen (fig. 5). There is no shell-like canopy, and the two outer figures are standing, while it is the one in the centre that wears the head-dress. The "kindly fruits of the earth" are, however, still conspicuous, and here they include ears of corn.

Thus much for Germany. The most famous example from Gaul is

probably one found at Lyon (fig. 6), a dedication to the *Matræ Augustæ* by a physician as to whose precise name there is some difference of opinion among epigraphists; Phlegon, Philippus Egnatius, and Philenus Egnatius have all been suggested. It will be seen that the goddesses are somewhat differently dressed from their German sisters, and that the circular head-dress has disappeared. All have objects resembling apples between their knees, and the one in the centre holds in addition a patera in her right hand and a cornucopiæ in her left. For our British example we may choose a rudely sculptured relief (fig. 7)



Fig. 4. Relief from Mümling-Crumbach.

now in the Museum at Newcastle, but perhaps originally dug up at Carlisle. The goddesses in this case have no specific local epithet attached to their general title, such as they



Fig. 5. Relief from Zatzhausen.

had on all the German inscriptions which have been passed in review. Instead they are the *Matres Tramarinæ*, "the mothers beyond the seas"—clear proof that the cult was an imported one and that the dedicator, Aurelius Juvenalis, was a sojourner in a strange land. The three figures are exactly alike, or as nearly so as may be; and their equality in power

and glory is made more obvious by the fact that a separate and identical niche in the *ædicula* is set apart for each. The lack of anything indicative of fruit is probably due to the poor capacity of the sculptor. But the circular ornaments between the springs of the arches are just worth noting.

We are now free to return to the point from which we started, and to examine the Colinton relief (fig. 1) in more detail. It is remarkable, not only as the first monument of the kind to be found on this side of the border, but also as being much superior in execution to the great majority of the representations of the "mothers" which have come to light in Southern Britain. Originally, the framework was doubtless of the usual kind, but the only part of it which remains at all complete is



Fig. 6. Relief from Lyon.



Fig. 7. Relief at Newcastle.

the base and the hollow moulding beneath it. Nothing is left of the *ædicula* save the bottom of a pillar on the extreme right. Each figure has apparently had above it a shell-like canopy which is directly reminiscent of the sculptures from Cologne and Mümling-Crumbach, except

that there the canopy was single, not triple. Between each of the three canopies and its immediate neighbour there has been a rounded knob or boss, which is in all probability purely decorative, although the possibility of its having some mystic significance can hardly be entirely excluded in view of the circles which occupy a very similar position on the relief with the *Matres Tramarineæ* (fig. 7).

In depicting the goddesses the artist has allowed as free a vein to his inventiveness as was consistent with maintaining a close general resemblance between the three. They are dressed exactly alike. Round her shoulders, and above the long robe that falls in ample folds about her feet, each wears a scarf or shawl, drawn tight and having the ends fastened over her chest with a large circular fibula. Unfortunately, the headgear is sadly damaged, but it would seem to have been something in the nature of a hood or a high pointed cap. The attributes are interesting. One object common to all is a round fruit, most probably an apple. The "mother" on the left holds this in her right hand, while with her left, which rests upon her knee, she grasps the arched handle of what appears to be a deep basket, filled with ears of corn, one or two of which can be seen hanging down over the side. The "mother" on the right has her apple in her left hand, with the fingers of which she at the same time supports what must also be a basket, albeit its shape is curiously suggestive of what we in Scotland call a "luggie." Her disengaged hand is raised and laid across her breast. In the case of the central figure the apple is also held in the left hand, but from the right there dangles a splendid bunch of grapes, a fruit which I do not remember to have noted in association with the "mother goddesses" in any other relief that I have seen. Its presence here has one very obvious meaning, for the Scottish thistle is as barren of grapes as it is of figs. We may be tolerably certain that both sculptor and dedicator hailed from the banks of the Rhine or the Moselle, or at all events had in their minds the example of someone who did. This particular attribute is a symbol of the feeling which finds expression in the British inscriptions, which describe the goddesses as "the mothers of another country" (if that be the meaning of *ollototæ*), "the mothers of the home-land" (*domesticæ*), "the mothers beyond the seas" (*transmarineæ*).

The Colinton relief, then, was set up by Roman auxiliary troops in the first or second century of our era, most probably in the latter. Its age and character being thus determined, some inquiry as to its history naturally follows. The material for such an inquiry is scanty in the extreme, and at more than one important point it must be eked out by conjecture. Still, the quest is not altogether hopeless. I may begin by quoting the solitary printed allusion to our monument which I have so

far been able to find.* Thirty-five years ago the Rev. William Lockhart, then minister of the parish, read before this Society a series of "Notes on the Early History of the Parish of Colinton." His description of the few surviving "vestiges of the ancient church" includes a sentence which undoubtedly refers to the relief we have been examining:—

"Above a doorway in a wall in the garden of Hailes House, to the west of that house, there is a rude stone with three seated figures on it, evidently representing the Holy Trinity."¹

Erroneous as we now know this conception to have been, the passage has nevertheless a distinct value as giving us the explanation of the sculpture that was current among the very few people who happened to be aware of its existence. And, after all, it is not in the least surprising that it should have been so. There seems to be every reason for believing that the site of the ancient church lies somewhere within the four walls of the garden, and it was perfectly natural to connect that fact with the presence of a piece of carved stone that was plainly anything but modern.

Record, then, does not help, so that we are thrown back upon surmise. Had there been so much as a jot or a tittle of other evidence of the presence of the Romans at Colinton, the relief would have been welcomed as final confirmation. Unluckily there is none. Even the enthusiasts of the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century refrained from discovering a Roman camp here: I doubt whether they got nearer than Morningside. And, standing alone, the relief proves nothing. It may very well have been brought from somewhere else. In this connection it may be recalled that in the seventeenth century it was quite the custom to utilise Roman inscriptions and sculptures for the embellishment of Scottish country-houses. Indeed, not a few of the examples still extant owe their preservation to the prevalence of this fashion. As early as 1607, for instance, a large inscribed slab from the Antonine Wall had been transported as far north as Dunnottar by George Keith, the famous Earl Marischal.² Before the close of the century the superior claim of museums began to be recognised, with the result that in the course of the next hundred years a large proportion of these curious ornaments were transferred to more appropriate resting-places.

Here we are confronted by a difficulty. The existing house at Hailes dates, though not exactly in its present form, from the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century—that is, from a time when the fashion alluded to above, in so far as it was a mere fashion, had long ago

¹ *Proc.*, xvii. (N.S., v.), 1882–83, p. 370.

² See my *Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 300, where numerous other cases are recorded.

died out.¹ The gardener's cottage has the date 1779 above the lintel, and the garden wall may fairly be assumed to be contemporary. It is hardly likely that at that period a piece of Roman sculpture would be brought from anywhere else to Colinton for decorative purposes, for there is no evidence that the then proprietor had any tastes other than those of the ordinary country-gentleman. May it not have been already there? I would venture to suggest that it had originally been built into the earlier mansion which the eighteenth-century house replaced, and that, when the former was taken down, it was relegated to the humbler position in which it still remains. The acceptance of this hypothesis would enable us to account in a very satisfactory way for the absence of any mention of the stone by eighteenth-century writers. Had it been a new discovery (or even a fresh importation) in 1779, when the garden wall was building, it could not have failed to win some notice in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account*, published in 1797. But neither the parish minister of that day nor his successor, who was responsible for the *New Statistical Account*, issued some fifty years later, deemed it worthy of the slightest allusion. Moreover, Roman fever had been more or less endemic among Scottish antiquaries since the days of Sir Robert Sibbald. If a relief of the "mother goddesses" had been dug up at Colinton or elsewhere in Scotland at any period later than the close of the seventeenth century, the Jonathan Oldbucks of the time would have been quick to connect it with Agricola or with Lollius Urbicus. The absolute silence of written record regarding this particular piece of sculpture is explicable only on the supposition that, when Scotsmen first began to look at such things with understanding eyes, it was already so familiar that it scarcely excited remark. It may well be that the explanation quoted above from Mr Lockhart—the explanation which saw in it one of the vestiges of the ancient church—was even then available to satisfy any passing curiosity that might be aroused.

Up to this point the argument has been mainly on negative lines. But the way is now open for something more positive. If the relief was not found at Colinton, can any guess as to its true *provenance* be hazarded? The nearest site of a definitely ascertained Roman settlement is Cramond, which is less than five miles distant in a direct line from Hailes House. And there was a shrine of the "mother goddesses" at Cramond. This fact appreciably increases the *a priori* probability of the relief having originally come from there. The evidence for it is irrefragable, being supplied by an inscription which will be described

¹ Cases like those of Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford and the third Earl of Egremont at Wyndham Orchard (*Victoria County Hist. of Somerset*, i. p. 365) are, of course, exceptional and might occur at any period.

more particularly in a moment. Meanwhile it has to be remembered that shrines of the "mother goddesses," like other shrines, may often have contained quite a number of votive stones. One discovered in May 1909, at Nettersheim, in the Volcanic Eifel, yielded just under a dozen reliefs and inscriptions, all dedicated to the *Matrona Aufania*.¹ There would therefore be nothing surprising in two having survived from Cramond.

In the circumstances "survived" is perhaps hardly the right word to use. The inscription just spoken of was on an altar which has been lost sight of for something like a hundred and fifty years. Writing in 1707, Sibbald (who is the earliest to mention it) says² that it was "digg'd out of the Ground at *Nether Cramond*, and kept in the Lairds Garden." About twenty years later it was seen there by Gordon, who reported that its surface was threatened with rapid decay.³ A year or two afterwards Horsley visited Cramond and twice examined it personally in order to verify the reading—a matter of no small difficulty, seeing that it had been "long exposed to the weather; so that great part of the inscription is now become very obscure and uncertain."⁴ Its ultimate fate is unknown. Luckily all three witnesses are in agreement as to those portions of the lettering which are of more immediate interest to us in the present connection. Horsley's version of the whole is, however, usually accepted as the most reliable, and we may adopt it here. He reads:—

MATRIBALA
TERVIS · ET
MATRIBCAM
PESTRIBCOHI
TVNGR IN S
VERS C ARM
O I^s SXXVV

Setting aside the last two or two and a half lines, which have plainly been misread,⁵ we learn that the altar was dedicated to the *Matres Alatervæ* or *Alatervæ* and the *Matres Campestres* by the First Cohort of Tungrian auxiliaries. The precise limits of the district whence this regiment was recruited are somewhat doubtful, but they certainly included a considerable stretch of the Lower Rhine, a neighbourhood where the goddesses who now preside over the garden at Colinton would be peculiarly at home. And a second glance at the inscription reveals

¹ *Bonner Jahrbucher*, cxix. pp. 301-321.

² *Hist. Inq.*, p. 47.

³ *Itin. Sept.*, p. 116.

⁴ *Brit. Rom.*, p. 205 (No. xxix. on the Plates).

⁵ Hübner suggests (*C.I.L.*, vii. p. 191) "*instante* Ulp(ia) S . . . [>(centurione)] leg(ionis) XX V(aleria) V(icticis)," which is at least possible.

another significant link. The epithet "*Campestres*" is generic. It can stand alone as a substantive title without the accompaniment of "*Matres*," as indeed it does on well-known inscriptions from Newstead, from Auchendavy, and from Castlehill. It is otherwise with "*Alatervæ*" or "*Alatervæ*." The older antiquaries interpreted this as referring to the place where the stone was found, and drew from it the conclusion that the Roman name of Cramond was *Alaterva*, an idea that probably still lives on in local guide-books. No scholar gives it any countenance to-day. It is universally agreed that in "*Alatervæ*" or "*Alatervæ*" we have the solitary British example of those (apparently) local epithets which are so constantly attached to the *Matronæ* of Lower Germany.¹ The epithet, in short, points unmistakably in the same direction as does the bunch of grapes held in the hand of the central of the three "mother goddesses" at Hailes. If we wish to discover *Alaterva*, we must put out from the Firth of Forth and cross the North Sea. And does not a consideration of all the facts justify us in postulating a close association between the pointers? Is it not more than likely that the Colinton relief presents us with the outward and visible semblance of the *Matres Alatervæ* of Cramond? Possibly some student of family history may be able to trace an intimacy or a relationship between the seventeenth-century (or earlier) tenants of the two properties concerned. If that could be done, the proof of Cramond origin might be regarded as virtually complete.

¹ The name appears to occur nowhere else, except possibly on an inscribed fragment found at Nantes about 1838, and published by the late R. Mowat in the *Bulletin Épigraphique*, vi. p. 369. a reference I owe to Professor Haverfield.

II.

NOTICE OF FOUR ANCIENT SCOTTISH STANDARDS, WITH DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED MARCHMONT STANDARD. BY SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL. C.V.O., LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

Old writers divide knightly and baronial flags into two classes—the Banner, a large flag of a square or oblong shape which had the arms of the owner painted or embroidered on it; and the Standard, which was very long and narrow in proportion to its length and terminated in a pointed, rounded, or swallow-tailed end. Originally designed for fixing immediately below the head of a lance, and then styled a Pennon, they gradually evolved a much more ornate character. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the length of the king's standard is prescribed as 8 or 9 yards, that of a duke 7, an earl's 6, a baron's 5, and a knight's 4. But in practice it is hardly likely that this academic rule was observed. It is evident, however, that the flag was no longer an appendage to a lance but was carried on a pole shaft of its own, and now served as a rallying point or as indicating the noble or knight to whom his attendant "plump of spears" and other vassals belonged. A much abbreviated standard was all that was required; indeed, standards of the length indicated above would have been cumbersome in the extreme. The flag that was carried in battle became therefore more of a pennon than a standard. Unlike the banner, there was not, from its shape, room to put the full armorial bearings of its owner on it; instead of these a very ingenious and beautiful compromise was arrived at. In the English standards there was invariably the cross of St George on the portion next the staff; then the rest of the flag was divided horizontally into two or more parts, these being of the owner's livery colours, that is, the colours of the principal metal and principal colour on his shield of arms. On these horizontal divisions were scattered the family badge or charges taken from the arms. Across all this, and dividing these charges from each other, were put slanting bands containing a motto.

The Scottish standards which have come down to us differ to a certain extent from this pattern. None of them are divided transversely, and in none of them are there the oblique bands with the motto: the latter being borne straight along the surface of the flag. As might be expected, too, the cross of St George is replaced by that of St Andrew when there is a cross, but in some cases it is absent, as we shall see immediately.

THE CAVERS STANDARD. (Fig. 1.)

This interesting flag, which was publicly exhibited for the first time at the Heraldic Exhibition held at Edinburgh in 1891, has given rise to much speculation. One tradition, adopted by Sir Walter Scott,¹ holds that it is the standard of James, second Earl of Douglas, carried by his natural son, Archibald Douglas, ancestor of the Cavers family, at the battle of Otterburn. But against this it may be noted that Archibald Douglas was very young in 1388, and survived the battle many years; while Froissart indicates that both the Earl and his standard-bearer were slain, and that the Earl's flag was suspended over his tomb at Melrose. Another tradition holds that the flag was not originally a Douglas standard at all but was that of Percy Hotspur, which was captured

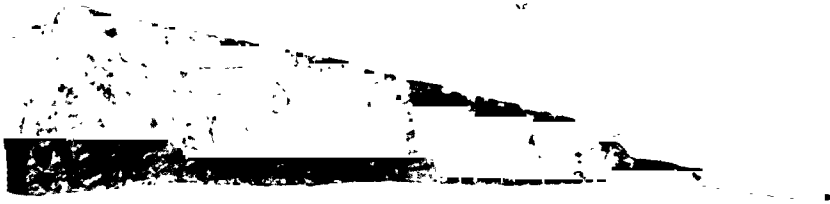


Fig. 1. The Cavers Standard.

from him by Douglas before the walls of Newcastle, and that it was to recover the flag that Percy undertook the expedition which ended so disastrously at Otterburn.

Lord Southesk wrote a long and elaborate paper on this standard, which was read to this Society on 10th February 1902, and anyone desiring the fullest information about it is referred to that paper. The author dismisses the theory that the flag was a Percy one with Douglas charges added to it. "Knights of old," he says, "did not deck themselves with their enemies' cognisances, like Red Indians clutching at scalps." We can fully accept the fact that the standard is a Douglas one and a Douglas one only: the presence of the saltire at the hoist stamps it undoubtedly as an unaltered Scottish flag.

Let us see what the charges are on this ancient standard, and what its general appearance is. It is of sage-green silk, 12 feet long by 3 feet 1 inch wide, narrowing to the ends, which may originally have been forked. At the hoist of the flag there is the St Andrew's cross, with a

¹ *Minstrelsy*: Notes to "The Battle of Otterburn."

red heart between its lower extremities, and another on the top of its sinister side: whether there was one on the corresponding position on the dexter is not certain, as that part of the flag has been torn away. Then we have a splendid lion passant armed and langued gules: beyond him a tau cross beneath a mullet; and finally, the motto running horizontally along the flag, said to be *Jamais Areyre*, in Old English letters. These devices and inscriptions are painted in what appears to be size- or water-colour of a greyish-black hue, with darker black hues on their shadowed sides, the sides towards the light of the saltire, lion and mullet being outlined in white, and those of the tau cross and motto in yellow.

First, then, we have the St Andrew's cross, which conclusively marks the standard as a Scottish one: the hearts and mullet are well-known Douglas charges. The lion is more difficult to account for. There is a lion passant on the seal of Malcolm, Earl of Angus about 1232, but he was not a Douglas. The second Earl of Douglas who fell at Otterburn bore a lion as a single supporter to his arms, but it is hardly likely that a supporter would be chosen as a charge on a standard. The second Earl of Angus did bear on his seal a lion rampant for Angus quartered with Douglas, and it is probable that the position of the lion being passant instead of rampant is due entirely to considerations of space: this is the case in other flags, as will be shown later. Lord Southesk is of opinion that what evidence we have rather points to the flag being the property of the Angus side of the family. But how, then, did it get to Cavers, where it has been for many long years? Lord Southesk ventures on the explanation that George, fourth Earl of Angus, who was appointed in 1449 Warden of the Middle Marches, is known to have given a commission to Sir Archibald Douglas of Cavers as Keeper of Hermitage Castle. It is possible, therefore, he suggests, that this standard was originally assigned as an ensign to be displayed on the walls of that fortress. When it passed from the hands of the Douglasses in 1491, the Keeper naturally took the flag with him to Cavers.¹ Against that theory there is the comparatively small size of the flag, which would make but a poor display on the ramparts of a castle, where it is more likely that a larger banner would be placed. But in the wild and breezy uplands of Roxburghshire something that would catch the wind less than a banner may have been thought preferable.

The tau cross is most mysterious. It is an uncommon charge in British heraldry. It appears in connection with (but not incorporated into) the arms of Stewart of Garlies in a curious cornice over a fireplace in the ruins of what was once Garlies Castle,² and was a charge in

¹ Fraser's *Douglas Book*, iii. 78.

² *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, v. p. 283.

the arms of the Drury and Fawke families in England. It is a curious coincidence that this uncommon charge should appear on a large genealogical tree of the Douglasses, now in the possession of the Earl of Home, commemorating a seventeenth-century alliance of a Glenbervie member of the Douglas family with one of the Druries of Rugham in England. Founding on this, the writer of an article on this flag, together with four others belonging to the burghs of Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Hawick, in the *Scotsman* of 15th December 1892, over the initials J. W., is of opinion that this standard must date from a period subsequent to the marriage of Lady Drury with Lord George Douglas, a grandson of the ninth Earl of Angus. But anyone conversant with the style of heraldic art prevalent in the seventeenth century has only to look at the flag to prove the erroneousness of this theory. Besides, why should a charge from the arms of the wife of a mere cadet of the Red Douglas branch appear on a standard at Cavers. The tau cross is in the arms of the Order of St Anthony, and it is just possible that the owner of this standard was a member of this Order.

There is a farther note of perplexity in this much-discussed flag in the fact that the motto *Jamais Arreyre* does not appear on any Douglas seal until that of the eighth Earl of Angus in 1572, where the last word takes the more modern form of *arrière*. It had its beginning, no doubt, in the claim which the Earl of Angus made to the right of leading the vanguard of the Scottish army in battle, a claim which was confirmed to the tenth earl by Act of Parliament in 1592.¹ The use of mottoes in connection with armorial bearings was very rare, if not altogether unknown, in Scotland in the fourteenth century, but it is possible that this one may have been thought suitable enough for a standard which was to be conspicuously carried in battle. The balance of evidence appears on the whole to be rather against this being an Otterburn standard. But, undoubtedly, it is a very old flag, and one of the most interesting relics that have come down to us of the days of chivalry.

THE STANDARD OF KEITH, EARL MARISCHAL. (Fig. 2.)

This flag is a very much simpler affair than the one we have just been discussing, though none the less interesting. It was the property of William Keith, third Earl Marischal of Scotland, a somewhat sententious person if we are to judge by the nickname, "Hearken and take heed," given him from his frequent use of that phrase. The flag was carried at the battle of Flodden by the earl's standard-bearer, Black John Skirving of Plewlandhill, whose descendant, Mr William Skirving, presented it to the Faculty of Advocates in 1808. Along with it he wrote a letter—a

¹ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, iii. 588.

copy of which I am able, by the courtesy of Mr W. K. Dickson, keeper of the Advocates' Library, to give—and which relates the history of the flag.

Edinr. 1 March 1808.

“Sir,

“As You have lately expressed a wish to obtain for the purpose of being deposited in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates the Bandrol I shewed You many Years ago, having painted on it. the Arms & Motto of Keith Earl of Marischall; namely three Stags heads, & the words *Veritas Vincit*, This Bandrol is now sent You for the Purpose above expressed, and I authorize You in my name, to offer it to the acceptance of the Faculty as a most curious Scots relic.

“What I know of its history is, that it has been in Possession of our family (Skirving of Plewlandhill) from time immemorial, and the tradition of the family has been, that my Ancestor Black John Skirving carried it at the battle of Flodden field, as Standard bearer to Earl Marischall. At this disastrous battle my Predecessor was taken prisoner but saved the colours by tearing them from the Standard to which they were attached; & concealing them about his body. That he was kept prisoner in England some Years & upon his return, found another encroaching upon his lands but they were resigned to the Warrior on his re-appearance.

“You will see by the Map that the lands of Plewlandhill lye to the East of Keith Marischall in the Parish of Humbie, East Lothian, and are separated from that estate by the Lands of Laedon & Humbie: in the heart of the former estate were a few acres of Land belonging to Plewlandhill which according to my grandfather's relation, had been given by Keith Marischall to my predecessor to bait his horse on, when he came to receive the Earl's orders. And it was with great Difficulty & at the intercession of many friends that my Grandfather could be prevented joining Earl Marshall in the Rebellion of 1715, he having received orders to follow him & actually did so nearly to Lauder, where having met with some of his friends they prevailed on him to return for the sake of his numerous family.

“The materials & painted letters of this flag betoken considerable Antiquity, but I can now give no further proof with regard to it; having sold the lands and delivered over the Writings of them forty Years ago.

“I am,

“Your most obedt. Servant

“WILLIAM SKIRVING.

“To Mr William Gibb.”

It is doubtful whether the earl himself was present at the battle. Pitscottie says he was one of the lords nominated “to take the battell in hand,” but this has been denied. As, however, his standard was there, the probability is that he himself was.¹

The flag is, as I have said, a very simple one. It measures 4 feet 7 inches from the hoist to the end of the upper fork: the latter is 2 inches larger than the lower one. This measurement includes a piece of material from 1½ to 2 inches wide which runs along the edges of the hoist and which does not appear to be part of the original flag. This may be

¹ See Henry Weber's edition of the *Battle of Flodden Field* (Edinburgh, 1808), p. 201.

explained by the fact that Skirving tore the standard from its pole and wrapped it round his body, and the torn end has subsequently been repaired. It is possible, too, that this rending of the flag may account for the fact that it has no saltire at the hoist, as was usually the custom.



Fig. 2. The Standard of Keith, Earl Marischal.

The only heraldic badges on it are three harts' heads erased, two and one; and this device is not taken from the coat of arms but is the crest used as a badge without any crest wreath, and thrice repeated. Following the device is the family motto stretching along the flag, which terminates in a bifurcated end, *Veritas vincit*.

THE BELLENDEN STANDARD. (Fig. 3.)

Robert Scott, fifth Lord of Rankelburn and Murthockston, excambed in 1415 his lands of Glenkerry, which was part of Rankelburn in Ettrick Forest, for the lands of Bellenden in Selkirkshire, then held by the monks of Melrose. He was the father of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch. Bellenden was situated about nine miles west of Hawick, and about four miles east of Buccleuch itself, both now remote and solitary places. It was considered a convenient place for the gathering of the Scott clan from Ettrick, Kirkurd, and Murthockston.

“Whitslade, the Hawk, and Headshaw came,
And warriors more than I can name :
From Yarrow-cleugh to Hindhaugh-swaire,
From Woodhouseslie to Chester-glen,
Troop'd man and horse, and bow and spear,
Their gathering word was Bellenden.”¹

¹ *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto iv.

The standard is blue and is peculiar in many respects. Not only has it no saltire, but the motto and charges on it read the reverse way—that is, from the fly to the hoist, instead of as usual from the hoist to the fly. The motto is simply a war-cry, “A Bellendane”; above and below this word are a crescent and a star taken from the Scott arms, and these are repeated at the hoist of the flag. At the end of Bellendane appears the family crest of a stag passant on a crest-wreath, a very uncommon occurrence on a flag of this sort; and above the stag is an earl’s coronet. All this is in gold on the blue ground. The presence of the earl’s coronet

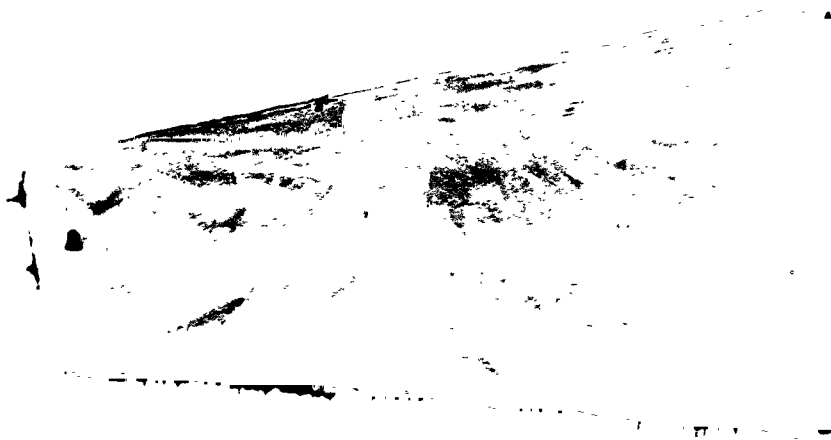


Fig. 3. The Bellenden Standard.

shows that the flag cannot have been made before 1619, the date of the creation of the earldom: it may indeed have been what is called in the account of the first earl’s funeral in 1634, “the defunct’s standard, caried by Mr William Scot, eldest sone to Lawrence Scot, Advocate”; but if so, it was certainly not copied, as Sir William Fraser thinks, from a more ancient banner which had been in many a border fray, for the very good reason that border frays rapidly became extinct after the Union of the Crowns. Whether the banner at present existing is really the one borne at the first earl’s funeral is not very clear. It does not look 300 years old, and it may well be that it is a copy of it. On the other hand, if it was not used from the time of the first earl’s funeral till 1815, when it was displayed at a great gathering of which I shall speak immediately, it may well be the original flag. Sir William Fraser,

however, thinks it more probable that it was made for the regiment of Francis, the second earl, when the army under General Leslie advanced into England and stormed Newcastle in 1644. But against this may be put the fact that if the banner was originally made for the first earl's funeral in 1634, there would hardly be any necessity for copying it within the short space of ten years.

Whatever may be the actual truth in this respect about the banner, there is no doubt that it was displayed on 4th December 1815 at a great football match on Carterhaugh, when Sir Walter Scott captained the "Sutors o' Selkirk" and the Ettrick Shepherd the opposing party, consisting of the dwellers in the vale of Yarrow. Scott describes the flag as "a very curious and ancient pennon," and both he and Hogg wrote poems for the occasion—that of Scott being entitled "The Lifting of the Banner," while Hogg's "excellent ditty," as Lockhart styles it, was called "The Ettrick Garland to the Ancient Banner of the House of Buccleuch." The standard was delivered by Lady Ann Scott to Sir Walter's son, the second Walter, "who attended, suitably mounted and armed, and riding over the field, displaying it to the sound of war pipes, and amid the acclamations of the assembled spectators, who could not be fewer than 2000 in number." This singularly ill-written sentence is from a newspaper of the day.¹

It is probable that the flag was not seen in public again till it was exhibited at the Heraldic Exhibition in 1891. Whatever its age may be, it must always be an interesting relic, as having inspired the muse both of Scott and Hogg.

THE MARCHMONT STANDARD. (Fig. 4.)

At the sale of the effects in Marchmont House in 1916 this flag came into the hands of a dealer, who purchased it casually along with, I believe, other oddments at the end of the sale. He shortly after sold it again, and the purchaser offered it to Mrs R. Finnie M'Ewen, the wife of the new proprietor of Marchmont, who acquired it and brought it back to its old home, where I have no doubt it will be well cared for, though naturally a Society like this must to a certain extent regret such a fine relic being in private hands. Before the purchase of the standard by Mrs M'Ewen, it was carefully examined by Mr Andrew Ross, Ross Herald, the well-known authority on Scottish flags, and this paper is much indebted to his notes, which he has kindly allowed me to use.

The length of the pennon from hoist to fly is 9 feet 6 inches, and the depth at the hoist is 36½ inches. It gradually tapers until at a line drawn through the red collar of the popinjay on the upper limb of the

¹ Quoted in Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, iii. 395.

jay it is 7 inches in depth. From that point to the extremity of the upper limb the length of the pennon is now $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, though originally it must have been a couple of inches or so longer.

The flag is attached rather slightly to a sheath of stout linen which slips on to the pole. This sheath is probably not so old as the pennon itself, though there is still attached to it a green silk tassel which may have been an original appendage.

The fabric is of fine silk and almost entire, though there are a few rents and holes, and the flag is naturally from its age somewhat frail. It is now, however, carefully preserved within two sheets of glass, which

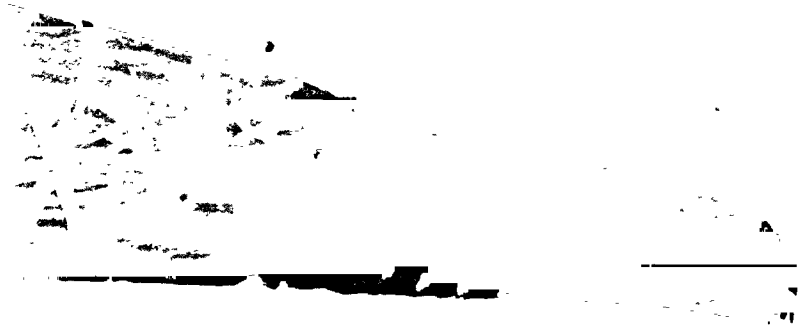


Fig. 4. The Marchmont Standard.

should keep it in good condition for quite an indefinite period. It consists of two pieces of silk which are joined at the selvedge ends just after the letter K of the motto. The ground of the silk, originally red, is now faded to a kind of old gold, and takes in certain lights a greenish tinge. The selvedges retain a deeper shade of the original red. The join shows no indication of having been interfered with since the day on which it was made: there are in consequence one or two creases in the fabric, and these have retained a still deeper tinge of red. The thread used in the join retains its original colour. The lower limb of the fly is incomplete, a fragment of 10 inches in length by 1 to 2 in depth being wanting.

Along the lower edge of the pennon runs the foot selvedge, which repeats the green running through the selvedges at the join. The upper edge of the flag, being cut diagonally so as to slope down to the fly,

has no selvedge, but a thin strip of coloured stuff, no doubt originally green (green being one of the livery colours of the Homes), is run along the edge to prevent it from fraying. Probably some time after the flag was made, but how long after it is hard to say, a green ribbon was sewn round the edges, including those between the two limbs of the fly, but it has been there long enough for it and the thread used to sew it with to fade into different shades.

The charges on the pennon are painted on one side only of the flag, but they show well through on the reverse, where a wash has been used to give a clear outline to the devices and lettering.

At the hoist there is, as should be in all Scottish standards, the cross of St Andrew; its limbs are not, as in the case of the cross of St George in English standards, extended to the edge of the fabric but stop a little way short. After the saltire comes a lion passant—a very fine example of Scottish heraldic work of the sixteenth century. It is full of grace and power. It is, of course, not a natural lion, but what these old artists aimed at was, as Ruskin points out, not a natural correctness of form but a clear outline emphasising the salient characteristics of the animal, so that in the mist and storm of battle it should be clearly distinguished from any other cognisance for which otherwise it might be mistaken. The Homes bore on their arms a rampant not a passant lion, but the exigencies of space compelled the artist to paint it in the latter position, just as was done in the case of the Cavers banner.

Following the lion comes the motto in two words, **KEYP REULL**. This is not a family motto of the Homes or anyone else. It occurs, so far as I know, only on this flag; but a more appropriate "dittay," as it used to be called, for a Warden of the Marches—as many of the Homes were—it would be difficult to compose. Each of the two words is followed by an ornamented flourish.

After the motto and on each limb of the flag comes the parrot or popinjay. The Homes bore three of those birds on the second and third quarters on their shield, commemorating a very ancient heiress, Nicola Pepdie of Dunglass, who married Sir Thomas Home somewhere in the latter part of the fourteenth century. One or two other families had popinjays in their arms, such as Fairfoul and Peebles, but none of them had any connection with the Border. The birds are green, with red beak and claws, and traces of this colour are to be seen in the popinjay on the upper limb of the flag. It is also collared or gorged gules, an old fashion of decorating the bird which has now become obsolete.

In the present Home arms the birds are not collared, nor have been for a very long time; but Sir David Lindsay in his *Heraldic MS.* of the middle of the sixteenth century gives them red collars. It is, however,

rare to find such an ornament to a parrot in Scottish heraldry: the only other instance of which I am aware is on a sculptured shield in Trinity College Church, which professes to bear the arms of John Brady, who was Provost of the church about 1500. The shield bears one parrot with a very well-defined collar round his neck.

The lower limb of the flag bears traces of part of a second popinjay, but the theory that there may have been a third on an imaginary extension of the lower limb seems to be excluded by its shape. There were no doubt three popinjays in the family arms, but there was no rule as to what was to be put on standards: the artist was left a very free hand within the limits of certain conventions.

For whom was the pennon made? Evidently, judging from the motto, for a Warden of the Marches. Several of the Lords Home held this office: Alexander, second Lord Home, had a letter from King James, 25th August 1489, appointing him Warden of the East Marches for seven years.¹ His son Alexander, third Lord Home, is styled in a charter of 4th February 1509-10 Warden of the East and Middle Marches of Scotland over against England.² George, fourth Lord Home, brother of the last, had a commission from the Regent Arran as Warden of the East Marches, 17th August 1546.³ His son Alexander, fifth Lord Home, was appointed Warden of the East Marches, 19th April 1550,⁴ and of the East and Middle Marches, 21st October 1557.⁵ His son Alexander, sixth Lord and afterwards first Earl of Home, is designed Warden of the East Marches in 1582.⁶ So far the Lords of Home had a sort of hereditary connection with the wardenship. But about 1591 the office seems to have passed to their distant kinsman Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth,⁷ and he was probably the last holder, as there were no wardens after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, in which year the first Earl of Home was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Marches.⁸

From the standard being found in the repositories of Marchmont House, which was not, however, begun to be built till 1750, one would naturally suppose that it was made for the last-mentioned warden, Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth. But the whole appearance of the standard, style of the saltire, the outlines of the lion and the character of the lettering, all indicate an earlier origin. The form of lettering was that in use on memorial tablets and brasses in Scotland in the middle of the sixteenth century, and to that or an earlier period I should be inclined to assign the date of the flag.

¹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii., No. 1893.

² *Ibid.*, No. 3406.

³ *Twelfth Report, Hist. MSS. Comm.*, App. viii. 183.

⁴ *Reg. of the Privy Council*, i. 94.

⁵ *Twelfth Report, Hist. MSS. Comm.*, App. viii. 98.

⁶ *Reg. of the Privy Council*, iii. 501.

⁷ *Scots Peerage*, vi. 10.

⁸ *Reg. of the Privy Council*, vi. 833.

There are two possible theories as to its origin. It may have been found at Home Castle when it was bought about 1750 by the third Earl of Marchmont, or it may have been taken from there by Sir Patrick of Polwarth.

What indeed more likely than that Sir Patrick, knowing that his kinsmen had been so often wardens, thought, like a thrifty Scotsman, that it would be better to borrow their standard than to get a new one made for himself? And one can easily picture him at the door of Redbraes—his residence near to the then unbuilt Marchmont—with his foot in the stirrup, and the precious King's commission in the pocket of his doublet, ready to set forth on his forenoon's ride. He goes down the hill, splashes through the ford at Blackadder Water, and so on to Home Castle—recovered now from the heavy hammering it had got from the heavy guns of the Earl of Sussex in 1569,—there to present his petition for the standard which was in future to remain in possession of his family till the other day.

III. •

NOTES ON THE EXCAVATION OF AN ARTIFICIAL MOUND AT KIDSNEUK, BOGSIDE. PARISH OF IRVINE, AYRSHIRE. BY G. P. H. WATSON. F.S.A. Scot.

Situated on the Eglinton estate, within the Bartonholm plantation, to the west of the Caledonian Railway line, at a point midway between Irvine and Kilwinning, is an artificial mound. It can be most conveniently reached from the western road from Irvine, crossing Irvine Moor. The construction (fig. 1), which lies 200 yards north of the Combination Poorhouse and 300 yards west of Kidsneuk cottages, stands at the northern end of the plateau, which slopes imperceptibly downwards to the town of Irvine on the south, and more steeply to the present course of the River Garnock, half a mile to the north; the river originally ran 150 yards north of the mound, and was diverted some years ago to free the mines in the neighbourhood from water.

As it is composed of sand, it is much wasted, and viewed from the road presents the appearance of a hog-backed mound, the major axis lying almost due north and south; but even in its present state it commands an extensive prospect in all directions save towards the east, where the wooded policies of Eglinton Castle intervene.

The mound is 15 feet high. The crest diameter is 25 feet; the diameter at base is 103 feet by 73 feet. On the north there appeared to be the outline of a ditch and rampart, and on the west a feature resembling a

berm. The track on the north-east appears to have been used for a long period as an access to the crown. Beyond the rampart on the north there is a re-entrant, and on the east a small plateau: these features may be natural.

On 30th April 1917, a trench 2 feet wide was excavated on the west side extending 9 feet outwards from the base of the mound (No. 1 on plan (B) of excavations, fig. 2). The material of which the mound was formed was found to be very fine yellow sand. At 3 feet 6 inches down the colour of the sand changed very sharply to white, the contrast between

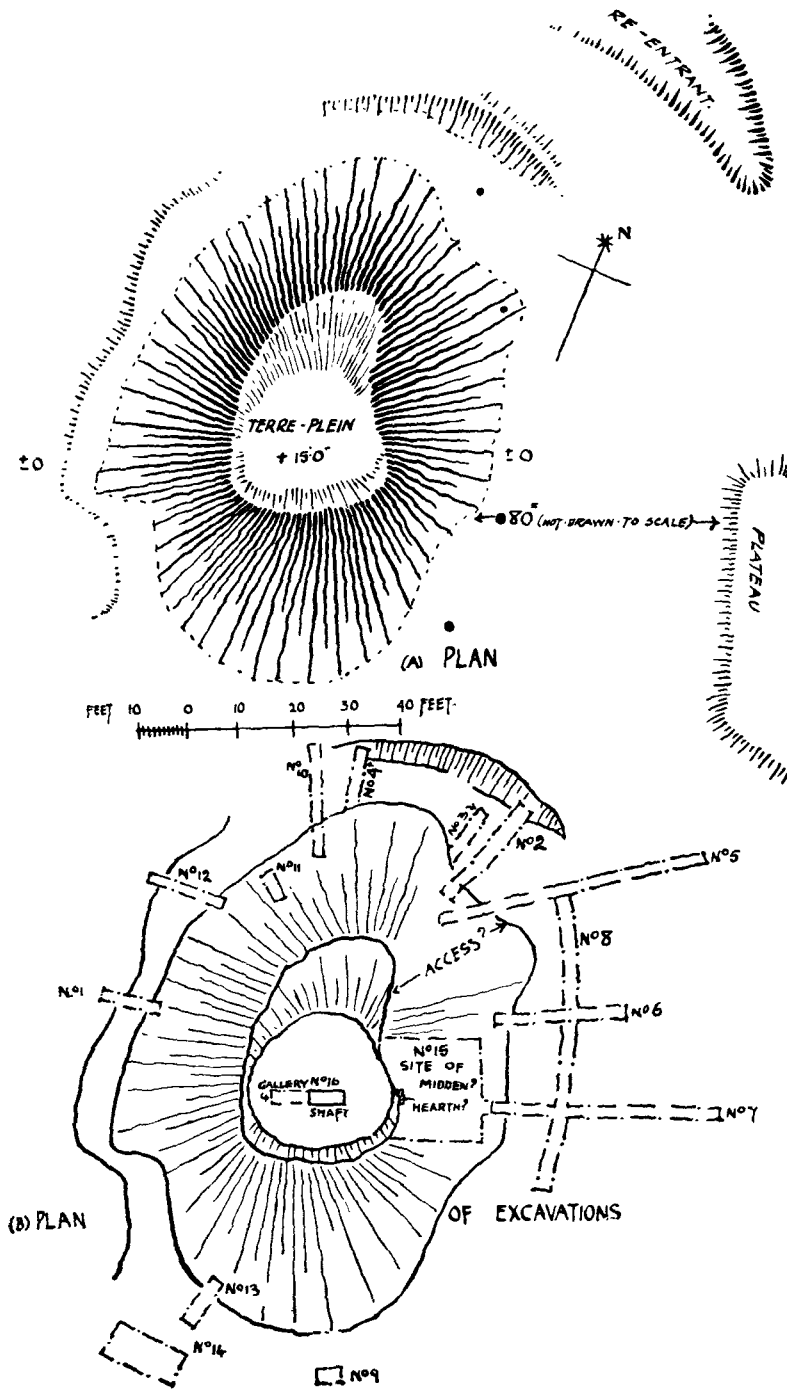


Fig. 2. Ground-plan of Mound at Kidsneuk and Plan of Excavations.

loam was first dug through, and then the white sand was exposed, at which level pottery was again found.

A third radial trench was run 5 feet to the northward, and a fourth at the extreme north where there appeared to be a vestige of a ditch. These trenches yielded one piece of flint and very few sherds. It was found that immediately below the water level there was a layer of black peaty substance of indeterminate depth.

Further east three other radial trenches, Nos. 5, 6, and 7, were run about 20 feet apart; in these fragments of pottery, pebbles, cinders, and indeterminate iron objects were found scattered on the top of the white sand layer, and were noticed to be more numerous some 7 feet out from the base of the mound. At that point a trench was run parallel to the base of the mound, No. 8, linking up the three radial trenches. In this a red pot handle, a piece of white crock, cinders, and bone were found 1 foot above the usual level. On clearing the yellow sand away innumerable fragments of pottery, with a few metal objects, cinders, metallic slag, parrot coal, and pebbles, were exposed lying on top of the white sand. Pebbles and stones were nowhere found in any quantity, nor were any of these larger than could be held in a closed hand. They were all abraded, possibly by the friction of the wind-blown sand. This might also account for the pottery being found in so fragmentary a state, and so widely dispersed; pieces, obviously of the same vessel, were discovered 30 feet apart.

On 25th May a pit, No. 9, 3 feet by 3 feet, was opened at the extreme south of the mound 9 feet out from the base. The white sand layer was only a spade depth below the ground surface; as before, fragments of pottery were found on top of the white sand.

Trenches Nos. 4 and 10 yielded a few small sherds beneath what was thought to be the rampart. From these trenches it was found that the white sand layer ran straight through the rampart. Other trenches, Nos. 11, 12, 13, and 14, were excavated early in June, and yielded results similar to those in trenches previously worked.

Before breaking ground it was assumed that the mound had been encircled by a ditch and rampart, but the excavations would seem to disprove this, as no trace of such features was revealed.

Towards the end of June it was decided to open up the terreplein; accordingly a shaft 5 feet 6 inches by 2 feet was sunk. Beneath 1 foot 6 inches of loam on the surface loose yellow sand was reached; and at 8 feet 6 inches from the surface a level black layer 1 foot to 2 feet in depth was found to run across the mound. It consisted of black loam, laden with cinder and ash with, in its centre, a 2-inch layer of pink sand quite distinct from any other shade noticed during the excavations.

In the black layer were found a very few fragments of pottery about 1 inch square, a few pieces of metal much oxidised, and some small bones. One of these sherds was found to be a portion of another piece unearthed from the midden, which is situated on the eastern scarp.

The shaft was continued downwards through forced sand until water was reached at a depth of 18 feet from the crown.

No relics were found above the black layer or below it; the layer was evidently the original surface at the time of occupation. A gallery 2 feet by 5 feet 6 inches was then driven from the shaft westwards (see section, fig. 3) so that a larger portion of the layer could be excavated. It yielded results similar to those found in the shaft.

At this juncture it was decided to sap through the escarp on the east to find where this had originally joined the old surface of the mound.

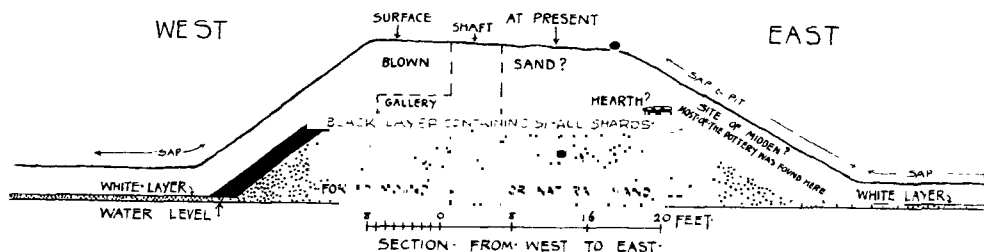


Fig. 3. Section of Mound at Kidsneuk.

Accordingly trench No. 7 was continued westwards; just beyond the present base a black layer was found, and in it were large sherds obviously portions of one vessel. The layer, 1 foot to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth, rose upwards and joined the old surface layer, as was anticipated, 8 feet 6 inches below the surface of the ground. The inter-layer of pink sand previously mentioned was found intermittently through the black layer of the scarp. This black layer had a gaseous odour and produced a slightly erosive action upon metal tools. The fragments of pottery found in this sap were large and so numerous that it was concluded the midden lay in the neighbourhood. The sap was therefore developed into the pit marked No. 15 on the plan. Here were found portions of vessels which could to some extent be reconstructed. After being cast aside, the pottery had apparently been fractured afresh by pressure of the superincumbent sand and growth of tree roots. Metal objects were also discovered, including a clip or binding of brass enriched with a repoussé moulding. At the junction of the escarp with the surface of the mound a construction of built stone, 6 feet by 3 feet, was found (fig. 4). The stones were freestone unwrought, all evidently chosen on account of their

flatness. In size they averaged rather under a cubic foot; they were dry-laid and set to face outwards. A channel or flue, also faced, radiated inwards. In the immediate neighbourhood there was abundance of cinder, charcoal and a little bone. The construction appeared to the excavators to resemble the primitive fireplaces which have not long



Fig. 4. Construction, possibly a Fireplace, in Mound at Kidsneuk.

passed out of use in remote parts of Scotland. Its proximity to the midden is suggestive.

The conclusions arrived at from the excavations are:—

- (a) That the mound is largely if not entirely artificial.
- (b) That it had an elevation of only 10 feet above the glaciis, and now lies entirely below its covering of blown sand.
- (c) That any construction on the terreplein must have been of an extremely light nature.

(d) That the occupation was spread over a considerable period, dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.

I have to express my indebtedness to the Earl of Eglinton for permission to excavate and for the helpful interest he took in the work.

NOTE ON A COLLECTION OF SHERDS OF MEDIAEVAL POTTERY FROM THE ARTIFICIAL MOUND AT KIDSNEUK, BOGSIDE, AYRSHIRE.

By ALEXANDER O. CURLE, F.S.A. Scot., Director of the Museum.

Unfortunately the knowledge which we possess of the chronology of mediæval pottery is very slight, though the broken fragments of such wares are by no means scarce. It is therefore very desirable when a collection of fragments, such as Mr Watson has recovered from this site, is forthcoming to examine each piece so as to note all peculiarities of form or of ornamentation, and if we have no other chronological clue incident to the find, by a process of collation with similar finds from other sites to endeavour to provide one.

The quantity of sherds sent to the museum was sufficient to fill a small packing-case measuring 18 inches by 11 inches by 9 inches. These consisted of the remains of numerous round unglazed vessels, with thin walls, mostly blackened with the action of fire, obviously cooking-pots, and also of a lesser number of fragments of partially glazed pitchers. Of the cooking-pots the pieces of one were sufficiently numerous to make it worth while having it restored, and this has been



Fig. 1. Cooking-pot from Kidsneuk.
(Height, 5 inches.)

done. It is shown in fig. 1. In height it measures 5 inches, in diameter at bulge $5\frac{3}{16}$ inches, and at mouth $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. A number of sections of the rims of similar vessels are shown in fig. 2.

The pitchers, after the manner of such vessels, are partially coated with a green or brown glaze. As not infrequently one hears such glaze described as salt glaze, it may be as well to state that pottery of mediæval times was treated, where glazed, with a lead glaze, and received its colour

from an admixture of metallic oxides, the commonest being oxide of copper, which produced the various shades of green.

No complete pitcher was recovered, nor a sufficient number of fragments of any one to enable it to be reconstructed, but the fragments included two complete mouths, a number of pieces of rims, several portions of bottoms, and a large quantity of odd sherds, decorated and plain. The rims, a number of sections of which are shown in fig. 3,

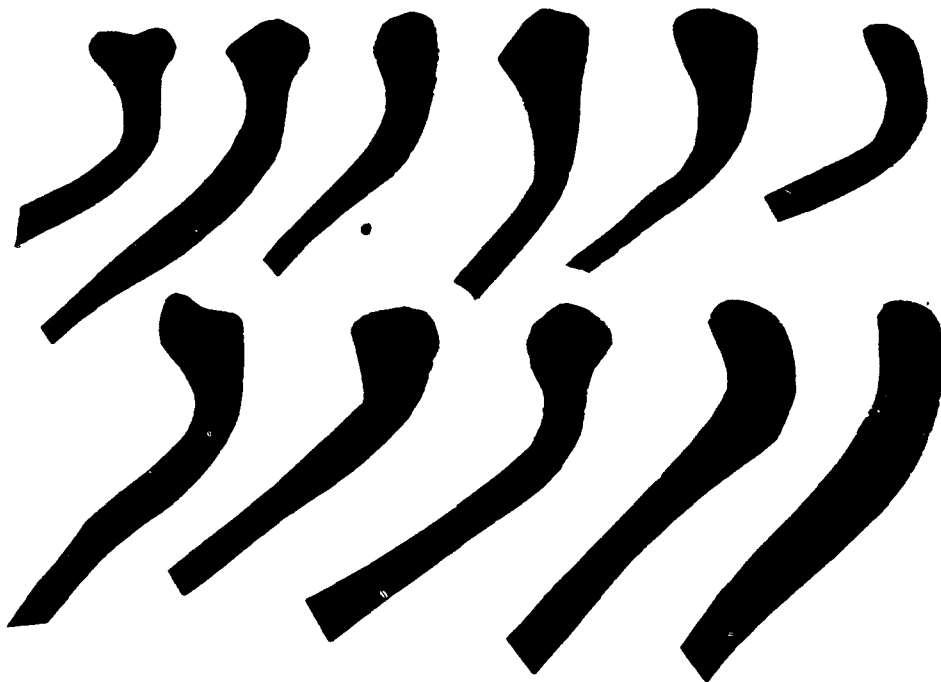


Fig. 2. Sections of Rims of Cooking-pots from Kidsneuk. (½.)

indicate a prevailing type of pitcher with, in addition to the usual rim moulding, a second parallel moulding about an inch lower down. The bottoms were slightly convex, and only two showed thumb impressions on the edge; on one piece, however, which may possibly have belonged to a later period, the impressed markings were continuous. From the indications of shape I infer that the vessels have been of spherical and also of bag-shaped form.

The handles of the pitchers, of which there are a number, have leaf-shaped depressions where they were joined to the body at the lower end, and a single groove running down the centre for the whole length.

The forms of the pitchers, the leaf-shaped impressions at the bases of the handles, and thumb impressions round the slightly convex bases, are features of vessels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but as the thumb impressions tend to become more numerous in proportion to the lateness of the pot, we may infer from their almost complete absence here that this pottery belongs to the very commencement of the period, if not to an earlier date.

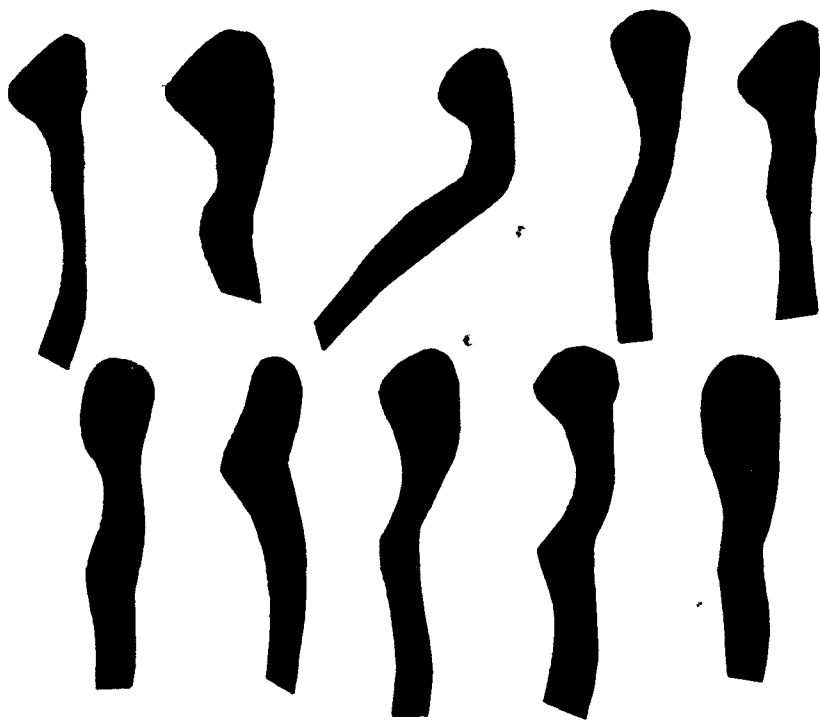


Fig. 3. Sections of Rims of Pitchers from Kidsneuk. (1.)

A consideration of some of the ornamented fragments points to the same conclusion. There is a small portion of a rim having attached to it just enough of the remains of an applied ornament to enable one to recognise an eye and a portion of the cheek of a grotesque mask similar to those found in excavating the ruins of Kirkcudbright Castle, a structure dating from the end of the thirteenth century and surviving but a short time into the fourteenth.¹ Several small fragments, roughed on their surface with leaf-shaped pieces of clay, exhibit a form of ornament

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. xlviii, p. 303.

in vogue in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹ There are two

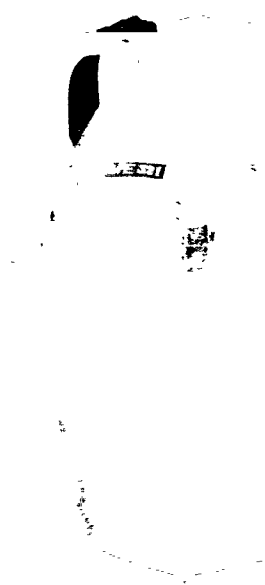


Fig. 4. Three-handled Jar from Glasgow, 1 foot 3½ inches high.

handles, and part of the mouth to which one handle is attached, of a large three-handled pitcher coated with a brown glaze.

Down the centre of each handle and passing on to the body runs a strip of clay to which has been given a wavy surface by finger pressure. Similar strips have also run down the body of the pitcher. Now there is in the National Collection (Cat. ref. ME. 321) a large three-handled jar (fig. 4) coated with a greenish glaze, 15½ inches high, 9½ inches diameter at the bulge, and 5½ inches at the base, found with two others, whether identical or otherwise I do not know, in the foundations of a back tenement between Rotten Row and George Street, Glasgow. The handles of this vessel are of the same general form as those from Bogside, with the groove down the middle and the leaf-shaped depressions at base: and further, the ornamentation which it bears of bands of incised zigzags has its exact counterpart in the ornamentation on

another sherd from Bogside. We are justified, therefore, in attributing the Glasgow pitcher to the same period as the remains from Bogside.

A considerable fragment of one side of a vessel covered with a rather bright green glaze has a handle placed sideways at the level of the mouth, which, with no neck intervening, seems to have been immediately above the body of the pot. For this form I have not, so far, found any analogy. Notched or twisted strips of clay laid up and down the pitcher have also been employed in the ornamentation of some of these vessels, likewise lines of small square markings produced



Fig. 5. Tripod Base of large Vessel of Pottery from Kidsneuk.

¹ *Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue of Exhibition of Early English Earthenware*, 1914, No. 22, p. 6, pl. iii.; *British Museum, Guide to English Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 7.

by the impression of a stick or comb, both methods employed on pottery found at Kirkeudbright. There are one or two pieces ornamented with raised chevrons or dog-tooth pattern in longitudinal bands between two applied strips. We have also a tripod base measuring $7\frac{5}{16}$ inches in diameter belonging to a large vessel which has been partially covered



Fig. 6. Specimens of Sherds of Ornamental Pottery from Kidsneuk.

with brown glaze (fig. 5), and the foot of another. Fig. 6 illustrates several of the ornamented pieces.

Presuming that particular fashions in form and ornament had their vogue in pottery during mediæval times, as they have had in all others, it is unnecessary to point out the importance of noting and recording all such details whenever a find is made, for only by so doing shall we be able to arrive at a proper chronology of this subject.

MONDAY, 11th February 1918.

The RIGHT HON. LORD ABERCROMBY, LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, there was elected a Fellow:—

Mrs MARJORY JANET TURNBULL of Hailes, Hailes House, Slateford.

The following letter from Lord Glenconner, in reply to a letter conveying the resolution of the Society passed at their meeting on 14th January, was read:—

34 QUEEN ANNE'S GATE, S.W. 1.
20th January 1918.

“MY DEAR SIR.—I have received the excerpt from the minutes of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland regarding the acquisition of Dryburgh Abbey on behalf of the nation.

“I beg the Society to accept my thanks for its acknowledgment and gratitude for my action, an expression which I value very highly, coming as it does from the greatest authority on the antiquities of Scotland, and to whose efforts our country owes so much in the preservation of her historical treasures.—Very faithfully yours.

“GLENCONNER.”

“To the Secretary of the Society of
Antiquaries of Scotland.”

There was exhibited the Cloth of Estate described by Mr W. Balfour Stewart (see subsequent Communication).

The following Communications were read:—

I.

NOTE ON SOME SIXTEENTH-CENTURY NEEDLEWORK HANGINGS IN
DALMAHOY HOUSE AND IN THE ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM.

BY R. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, SECRETARY.

In the paper which I had the honour of reading to the Society last year upon three hangings of sixteenth-century needlework, I referred to three strips of needlework of similar character belonging to the Earl of Morton and preserved in Dalmahoy House. Through Lord Morton's courtesy I have been able to obtain a photograph of these strips, and I have also, through the courtesy of the Director of the Royal Scottish Museum, obtained photographs of two strips of the same kind of work which at one time were in the collection of the late Sir Noël Paton, and are now in the collection in Chambers Street. For the sake of convenience I shall refer to the set of hangings I described last year as the "Rehoboam set," as they depicted the history of that monarch: Lord Morton's set I shall refer to as the "Dalmahoy set": and the Royal Scottish Museum set as the "Museum set."

As I mentioned last year, the Rehoboam set and the Dalmahoy set have much in common, and accordingly the date of the former has an indirect bearing on the date of the latter. I must, therefore, ask you to pardon me for going back on my last year's paper for a few minutes.

Last year I flattered myself that I had made out a fairly good case for identifying the Rehoboam set of hangings with the Rehoboam tapestries inventoried in Mary of Guise's effects in 1561. My reasons were briefly (1) family tradition that they had belonged to Mary Queen of Scots; (2) the beauty of the design and workmanship; and (3) the improbability of there having been in Scotland at that date two sets of hangings depicting the story of Rehoboam. This last reason was, of course, the strongest, and, unfortunately for me, it has fallen to the ground. Mr Warrack has drawn my attention to the fact that in the inventory of James V.'s effects in 1539, reference is made to tapestries depicting the history of "Roboam," six pieces being mentioned. Between that date and 1542 five of these pieces have disappeared from the royal possession, for another inventory of his effects in the latter year mentions only one piece as remaining. Now, although the existing Rehoboam hangings (three in number) may still be those mentioned in the inventory of 1561, and with the one mentioned as remaining in 1542 make up the total of four therein referred to, the costumes depicted make it quite impossible for them to have been those inventoried in 1539. It is obvious, therefore,

that there were in Scotland in the sixteenth century at least two sets of hangings depicting the history of Rehoboam, a fact which considerably modifies the strength of my argument. Furthermore, when this fact was brought to my notice I deemed it necessary to subject the costume to a much more careful analysis than I had before attempted, with the result that I have now doubts as to the date of the needlework being as early as 1560.

Perhaps I may be allowed to mention here, as a parenthesis, that the more I have looked into the question of the costume of this period, the more difficult I have found it to come to a decision as to the date of any particular dress in the second half of the sixteenth century unless when extremes of fashion are depicted. For practically fifty years the ladies wore close ruffs and open ruffs according to the occasion and to taste, farthingales, head-dresses, and hats of very similar character; while the men wore ruffs or linen collars indiscriminately, hose and trunks of various sorts, cloaks long and short, with and without sleeves, and hats of a various and nondescript character.

That I am not alone in experiencing this difficulty is evident, for Planché writes in his *British Costume*: "The large trunk hose, the long-waisted doublet, the short cloak or mantle with its standing collar, the ruff, the hat-band and feather, the shoes and roses are all seen in the earliest paintings or prints of this period, and the positive date of the introduction of either seems to be a difficult and debated question even to those who lived nearest the time." Thus Randal Holmes, writing in 1660, states: "About the fortieth year of Elizabeth the old fashions which men used at the beginning of her reign were again revived, with some few additions made thereto, such as guises, double ruffs, etc." It is, therefore, with extreme diffidence that I put forward my opinion as to dates based on costumes; still there are certain points, often small ones, that give an indication of whether the costume is early or late, and it is to these I shall refer.

With this explanation I shall turn first to the Museum hangings (two in number) (fig. 1), because they seem to me to be the earliest in date. They are thus referred to in the private catalogue of the late Sir Noël Paton: "(No. 558, piece of tapestry in frame) Queen Elizabeth receiving an embassy, probably the proposal of marriage from Philip of Spain—of much interest for costume, etc.: 4 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches: from Murthly Castle": "(559, piece of tapestry in frame) Queen of Sheba before Solomon—also most interesting for costume, same suite: 58 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 1 foot 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches: from Murthly Castle."

As will be seen, Queen Elizabeth is seated on her throne with her ladies-in-waiting, while the Spanish envoy, accompanied by two gentle-

men-in-waiting and a small page (who is extremely difficult to make out), is handing her a letter. I would draw attention to the bodices of the ladies, which are square cut at the neck, the upper part of the bust and throat being filled in with what seems to have been known as a "partlet." This shape of bodice is practically the same as that in use in

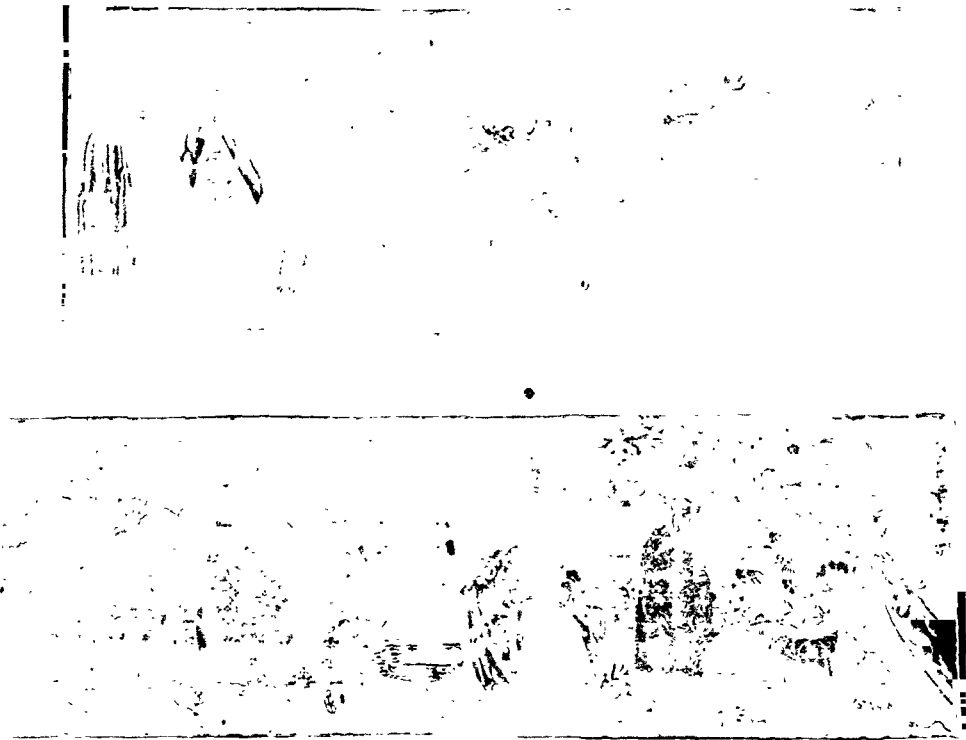


Fig. 1. Needlework Hangings in the Royal Scottish Museum.

the reigns of Henry VIII. and Mary of England, only in these reigns it was left open at the throat and neck.

Turning to the skirts, these are not so voluminous as they are to be found later on in the period. As you will see, they open in front, showing the underskirt and producing the effect of an inverted V-shaped panel. As a whole, the female costumes much resemble that of Mary of Guise, as shown in her portrait in the National Gallery, London. I would also point out the fan in the queen's hand, which is of feathers, and which is of the earliest form of fan of the period.

Turning to the men's costume, the hats are of an early form of the

period, and attention may also be directed to the band round them formed of twisted silk. Not that this gives much of an indication of date, for although it is the earliest form of hatband, it is found in use well on into the next century. The doublets show little of the "peascod" shape, which reached its extreme development during the reign of Henry III. of France: the hose and gartering are of an early form.

The shoes are slashed in a way common until the end of the century, but they seem to be a little puffed at the toe, which would indicate their being of an early form.

Turning to the other Museum hanging—namely, King Solomon receiving the Queen of Sheba,—King Solomon is seated on his throne, which strikes one as being a little ungallant, while the queen approaches him, her train being carried by two maids-in-waiting. The style of the ladies' dresses is still more definitely marked than in the other picture, and the costume of the men is more assuredly early. In particular, it will be noted that the shoes of the male figure in the right-hand corner are of the pattern worn in the reign of Henry VIII. known by the name of "Bear's Paw Shoe." On the whole, I am inclined to think that these two pieces date about 1560.

For the purpose of comparison I now refer to the Rehoboam tapestry (fig. 2). As already stated, I think that this is of very much the same date as the Dalmahoy hangings. The costume is much the same in both, although there are one or two distinctive features in each. Perhaps it is in the ladies' costumes that we see the similarity most marked. In both sets of hangings it will be noticed that the ladies' bodices are now cut high to the throat without the intervention of a partlet; note should also be made of the fact that one of the figures bears a muff, a point to which I shall afterwards refer. The men for the most part wear the double linen collar, and not the ruff. Nothing as to date can be deduced from this fact, as both kinds of neck-gear were in use during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and both may often be seen appearing side by side in the same picture.

It will be observed that the men's doublets are much more "peascod" shaped than those shown in the Museum hangings, while the upper hose, or breeches, are of a totally different character, being comparatively tight and coming down to below the knee, where they fasten in an unobtrusive way. These, I think, are of the kind termed "Venetian," and they are to be met with from the middle of the sixteenth century to well on in the seventeenth. In fact, they must have made their appearance before 1550, if Planché is correct in stating that Desperriers referred to this class of garment in derision as "culottes," for Desperriers committed suicide in 1544. They were particularly fashionable at the French Court about 1580.

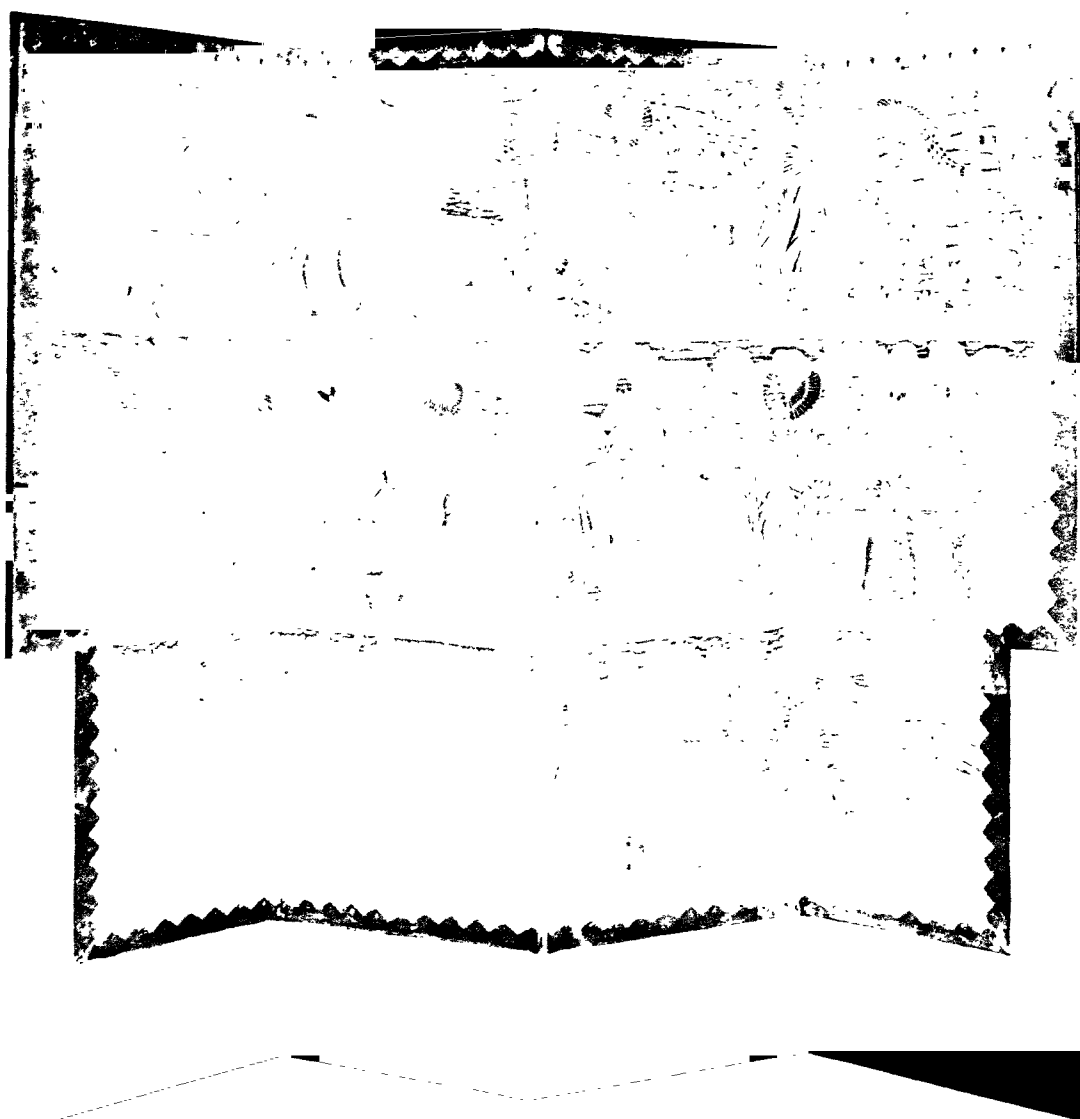


Fig. 2. "Ane tapestrie of the historie of Roboam," mounted on a screen.

I would also draw attention to the shoes, as they are similar to many in the Dalmahoy tapestry. It will be observed that they show slashing only at the heels, and I failed to find a representation of any shoe of exactly this pattern. I feel sure that this peculiarity is accounted for by the fact that the figures are wearing over their ordinary shoes slippers known as "pantobles" or "pantoffles," from the French *pantouffles*. These slippers had no back part, and, according to Stubbs, when walking about the streets it was necessary for the wearer to kick his toes against stones, sticks, etc., in order to keep them on. He also mentions that many strained their legs from the sole of the slipper only reaching halfway under the heel. This peculiarity will be clearly seen in these representations. Of course the use of such slippers permits of only the back part of the slashed shoe being seen.

I would also draw attention to the earrings worn by the courtiers. This, again, is a custom, examples of which are to be found from 1547 onwards; amongst other portraits where these appear is one of Henri II. of France. It was, however, in the reign of his son, Henri III. (1574 to 1589), that the custom became most fashionable at the French Court. I should be inclined to assign these hangings to this period were it not for their similarity to the Dalmahoy hangings.

To these hangings (fig. 3) I shall now turn. These are even finer than the Rehoboam hangings in fulness of design and in general decorative effect, although they have not been so well preserved. They are also of more particular interest in that they are said to have been worked by the Maries of Mary Queen of Scots during their imprisonment in Loch Leven Castle—that is, between the middle of June 1567 and 2nd May 1568.¹

Looking to the fact that Loch Leven was a Douglas stronghold, and that the head of the Douglas family, the Earl of Morton, was a leading man at the time, and was regent of the country immediately after this date, that he is known to have laid his hands on everything he possibly could, and that the hangings are now in the possession of his descendants—the pedigree is an extremely good one. In fact, it is so good that, unless one found something represented of a proved later date, one would feel bound to accept it, and use the hangings as a basis for dating costume, rather than attempt to date the hangings from extraneous knowledge. So far as I am able to judge, there is nothing shown in the hangings which can definitely be said to be of later date than 1568, although there are two objects depicted which are not generally supposed to have been

¹ Nothing has been said either in this or in the former paper as to the designer of these hangings. Whoever he was, he must have been an artist of no mean capacity, and the point is one of considerable interest. After Queen Mary had been a month in Loch Leven Castle she asked for "an imbroderer to draw forth suche worke as she would be occupied about" (Stevenson's *Selections*, Maitland Club, p. 220), but history is silent as to who was sent.

in use quite so early, viz. muffs and closing fans. Muffs, according to the French archæologist Monsieur Quicherat, were novelties in France in the reign of Henri III.—that is, between 1574 and 1589,—and he refers to the fact that there was then no name for them, the word “manchon” at that time, and for long afterwards, meaning the sleeves which came

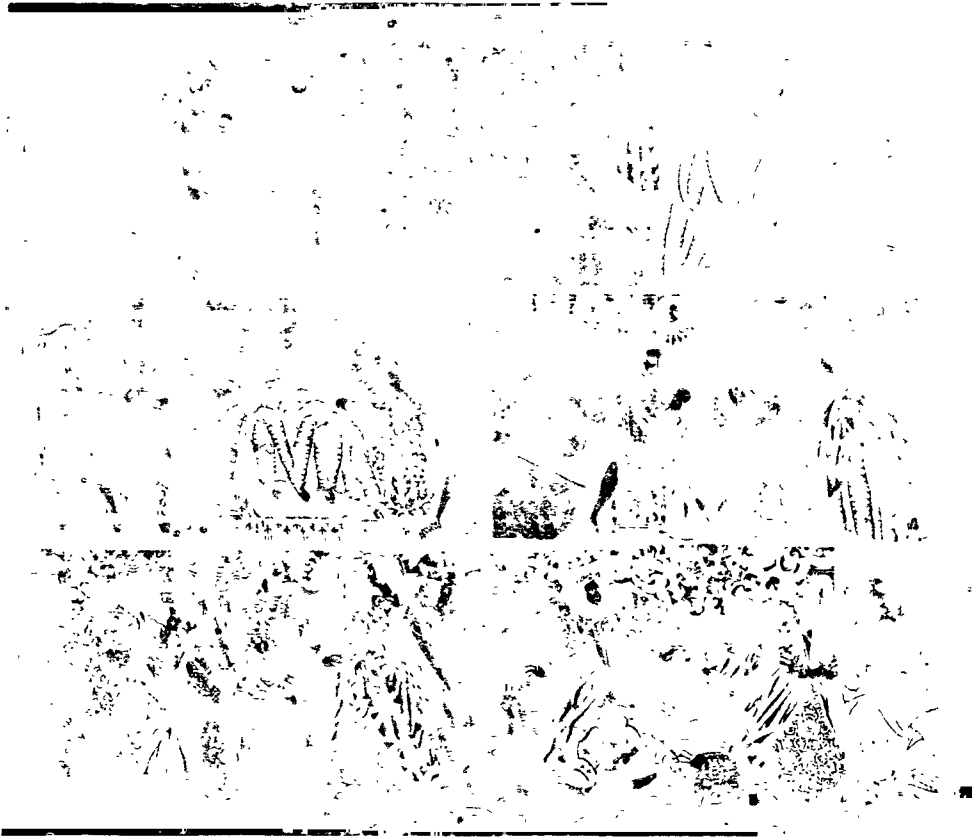


Fig. 3. Needlework Hanging belonging to the Earl of Morton.

down to just above the elbow. Stubbs, who wrote in 1581, and who took note of most things to do with dress, does not refer to them.

The earliest recorded picture of a lady with a muff to which I have seen reference occurs in a work by “Gaspar Rutz,” published in 1588, where the muff is shown as hanging by a cord from the lady’s waist. If, therefore, we accept the date of these hangings, the examples of muffs in them and the Rehoboam set are probably the earliest known. In the

same way, although feather fans of various kinds were common by the middle of the sixteenth century, Fairholt expresses the view that folding fans did not come into use until the beginning of the seventeenth century. He is, however, mistaken in this, for in a picture in the Louvre representing the festivities at the marriage of Duc de Joyeuse in 1581 folding fans are clearly depicted. The hangings before us therefore only set back the use of these articles by a year or two.

Glancing, generally, at the costume, which is marvellous in its magnificence and detail, it will be seen how much it resembles that shown in the Rehoboam hangings. The courtiers, however, do not wear earrings, and have long cloaks and ruffs instead of short cloaks and linen collars. The doublets are rather more markedly "peascodded" than those in the Rehoboam suite, and the men, instead of wearing their chains round their necks, wear them over their shoulders and round their bodies like bandoliers. I have failed to find any exact contemporary representations of chains worn in this way. In this set the pantoffles are again in evidence, though some of the figures are without them.

The figures of the queens in the two top strips have very peculiar discs on the upper part of their sleeves—the design in the one case being of a formal brooch-like character, and in the other the face of the sun in his splendour. I have seen nothing like these in any illustrations of costume. It may also be noted that the footstool of the throne is *semé* of fleur-de-lis. Does this indicate that she is a French queen?

I believe that at one time these hangings were rather neglected; at all events, it was necessary to have them patched together, and it will be noticed that the figure in the top left-hand corner, and also the figures in the bottom right-hand corner, have been sewn in. These may, or may not, have belonged to the original suite. Personally, judging from their appearance, I think they did not. This may be a matter of considerable importance, as I shall show hereafter.

The question that most naturally arises in regard to these hangings is, What story do they represent? I am sorry to say that this story has not as yet been identified, although it is obviously of a most romantic and dramatic nature.

The top strip apparently depicts a king and queen dancing in a garden to music played by a courtier on a guitar and by a lady on a clavichord, which has as a support a most decorative dragon. There is also a delightfully fat queen either arguing or dancing, it is difficult to say which, with another king in the right-hand corner, while two ladies-in-waiting watch in the background.

The middle strip depicts a queen on her throne apparently watching one of her courtiers having his leg cut off by a most murderous-looking

saw, his stocking having been drawn down his leg and made into a roll round his ankle. Or it may be that the roll is a fetter that is being removed from the victim's foot, which would be more in keeping with his comparatively cheerful appearance and with the fact that his stocking and shoe have been left on.



Fig. 4. Figure with Muff bearing Letters.

In the lowest scene we have what appears to be murder, pure and simple, as there is a gallant stretched in the foreground with an arrow through his temple, surrounded by a bevy of distracted females, while a classical warrior makes off with a bow in his hand. In the background there are the figures of a man and woman lying together in a garden, either asleep or dead, while in the clouds above them Jupiter and an Elizabethan-clad goddess are shooting arrows at them. The decorative effect of the whole is wonderful, but what does it all mean?

I referred above to the figure of the lady in the right-hand bottom corner, who, I thought, did not form part of the original design. As will be seen (fig. 4), she has a muff in her hand, and that muff has on it the duplicated letters as shown in fig. 5.

These in many ways resemble the trade-marks put upon tapestries by their designers and makers in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, but they are not the same as any of the recorded specimens. It will be observed that, as the circle with the stroke through it is an old way of indicating 1000, all these letters have a numerical meaning, and the question arises, Do they indicate a date, and, if so, what date? The letters have been in every case doubled, but one is inclined to think this must have been done for decorative purposes, and that they are intended to be read single. Of course, they may be initials of those who plied their needles at the work, or they may have been added as a jest by some worker, but one would much like to know what they mean.

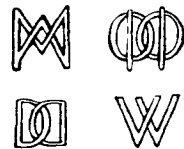


Fig. 5.

I may add, in conclusion, that none of these hangings show any signs of three fashions which were common during the last quarter of the century, viz. shoes of more or less modern design with big rosettes; lovelocks hanging down to and along the shoulder; and gauze or net cloaks with transparent collars standing up behind the head and having

the appearance, more or less, of wings, so common in the pictures of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary.

No doubt the shoe with the rose is found about the middle of the sixteenth century, but it is not common until the last quarter of it, and the absence of these three fashions is in favour of the view that these hangings date prior to 1570.

Up to the present I have dealt entirely with figures and costumes, but the garden scenes depicted and the landscapes in the background, especially those in the Dalmahoy set, are well worth careful study. The buildings, ruins, and scenery as shown in the latter have a distinct suggestion of Southern Europe, and I would draw attention to the bay surrounded with houses, and with shipping in it, seen behind the antique warrior as perhaps having something to do with the story.

All three sets of hangings show many different kinds of flowers, most of which can be identified. Amongst others, there is a fine specimen of the Scottish thistle in the Rehoboam set, occupying such a prominent position as to suggest a compliment to the nation. I cannot close this note without also referring to the quaint collection of animals, birds, insects, and reptiles, which add to the decorative effect and are in themselves of no small artistic merit.

II.

NOTE ON A CLOTH OF ESTATE TRADITIONALLY SAID TO HAVE BEEN WORKED BY MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AND HER LADIES WHEN IN ENGLAND. BY W. BALFOUR STEWART. F.S.A. SCOT.

This cloth of estate, which is traditionally said to have been worked by Mary Queen of Scots and her ladies, is the property of Miss Power, who succeeded to it through her ancestors the Jermyns of Rushbrooke Hall, Suffolk. The cloth has been in possession of the Jermyn family for several generations, but how they became possessed of it is not known, nor is there any history of it prior to that time.

About 1834 Rushbrooke Hall was let, and the tenant had so little regard for this cloth that he used it for a rug in the billiard-room. When it began to look shabby he gave it to a cottager, and the owner, Mr Jermyn, on his return found that it was being used as a bedcover, and redeemed it for a payment of 2s. 6d. It was "restored" by his daughters, with rather unfortunate results.

So far as can be judged, the lozenges and ovals were void of design, and were no doubt intended to contain a design worked on finer material to be superimposed on them. It will be seen, however, that the four shields which have been superimposed upon the lozenges in the four corners do not exactly fit these lozenges, but spread over their limits and interfere with the general design. Furthermore, the material on which the cordelière border is worked, although finer than that of the carpet, is not so fine as the material on which the shields are worked, so again we have the doubt as to whether the border and the shields belong to one another. The owner, however, states emphatically that these shields, with their crowns and the cordelière border surrounding them, were art and part of the original design. What was in the other lozenges and ovals is not known, except that there is a tradition that the oval in the centre contained the design of a tree with a cardinal's hat. The cloth still shows traces of gold thread worked through it.

In 1834 Miss Jermyn, afterwards Lady Trevelyn, the daughter of the Rev. George B. Jermyn, then the owner of this cloth, wrote to her father that she had seen a cloth of similar design in Edinburgh, and sent him a description of the same. He replied that his cloth corresponded exactly with his daughter's description of the cloth in Edinburgh, except that the Edinburgh one contained crowns and ciphers; that similar crowns and ciphers may at one time have filled the worn-out ovals in his cloth, although he thought one or two of these ovals contained human figures.

As there were always two cloths of estate used on state occasions, one forming a carpet and the other a canopy, it would be of much interest

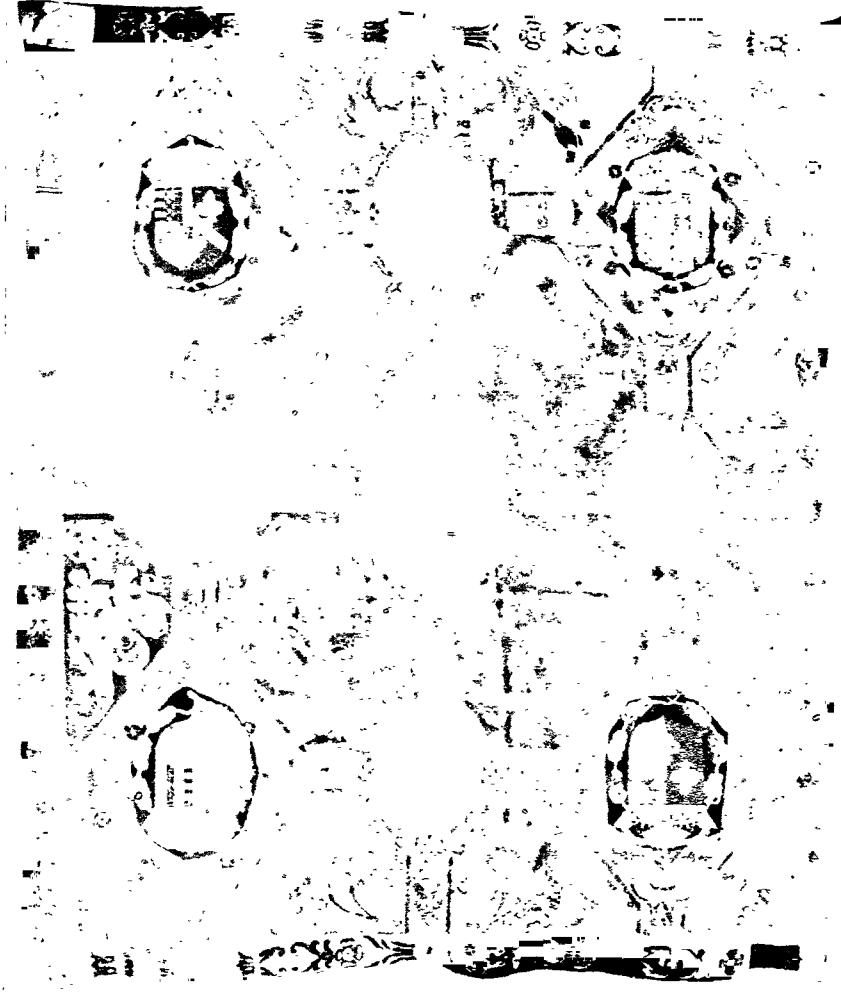


Fig. 1. Cloth of Estate traditionally said to have been worked by Mary Queen of Scots and her Ladies.

to compare the subject of this note with the cloth of estate referred to in 1834 as being in Edinburgh, and perhaps some member of the Society may be able to give some information as to what has become of it.

In the inventory of the effects of Mary of Guise handed over to her

daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, in November 1561, the following description of a cloth of estate may be referred to as showing a considerable resemblance to the example before us:—

“4. Item ane claith of estate of claith of gold and drauchtis of violett silk partit equalie with violett velvet, quhair there is the armes of Scotland and Lorayn with crownit cyphers all in broderie furnesit with thre pandis and the taill all freinyeit with threid of gold and violet silk.”

The cordelière knotting round the shields, to which after-reference will be made, was quite a known form of decoration in the sixteenth century, as the following extract will show. It is from the same inventory, and is taken from the description of another cloth of estate: “And upon the silver cordeleris knottis of gold quhair of thair wantis sum fassis.”

It may be mentioned that the cordeliers, or cord-wearers, were the strictest branch of the Franciscan friars, so called on account of their wearing a girdle of knotted cords, and were at one time a very powerful order, especially in France.

A note appended to this same entry clearly indicates that these cloths of estate were not all worked on the one piece, for we read: “In Julii 1566 it was broken to put crammosie velvet in place of the claith of silver. It is in Striveling.” Obviously here the cordelière knotting was superimposed on the cloth of silver and not worked on it, and this separability between groundwork and decoration is confirmed by other references in the same inventory, more particularly in relation to bed hangings.

The following is a note of the shields by Mr J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A.:—

On this cloth of estate there is a pictorial pedigree of Mary Queen of Scots in four escutcheons of the arms of her paternal and maternal grandparents, her father and mother, and herself. These shields are not now in regular order, and it is probable that they were misplaced when the work was repaired. As they now stand we have: (1) the queen's maternal grandparents, (2) her paternal grandparents, (3) her own arms, and (4) those of her father and mother.

The escutcheons are:

(1) Quarterly of eight: 1st, Hungary; 2nd, Naples or Sicily; 3rd, Jerusalem; 4th, Arragon; 5th, Anjou; 6th, Gueldres; 7th, Flanders; 8th, Bar; with a label of three points gules, and Lorraine on an escutcheon of pretence; impaling the Bourbon (Vendome) arms dimidiated. This shield is for Claude de Lorraine, Duke de Guise, and his wife Antoinette, daughter of Francis de Bourbon, Comte de Vendome.

When the tapestry-work was repaired, the three lions passant-guardant argent were omitted from the bend in the Bourbon coat.

(2) The royal arms of Scotland; impaling the Tudor royal arms of England. This shield is for James IV. and his wife Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.

(3) The royal arms of France dimidiated; impaling the royal arms of Scotland. This shield is for Francis II. and his wife Mary Queen of Scots.

(4) The royal arms of Scotland; impaling the arms of the Duke de Guise. described above. This shield is for James V. and his wife Mary, daughter of Claude de Lorraine, Duke de Guise.

Each of the four shields is ensigned with a French arched crown, the coronet being composed of fleurs-de-lis and fleurons (strawberry leaves) alternately. The same crown appears, above two shields of France and Poland, on the title-page of Jerome de Bara's *Blason des Armoiries*, 1581. It is not the correct coronet of the French king's crown, which was composed of fleurs-de-lis only, but seems to have belonged (necessarily without the arches) to the French princes other than the children of the king; an example of this coronet may be seen above the arms of the Princess Margaret d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I., in Fox-Davies' *Art of Heraldry*, 1904, pl. cxxviii., described on p. 450.

In Segoing's *Armorial Universel*, 1679, this coronet is described as the "couronne de prince," as distinguished from the "couronne de fils de France," which is composed of fleurs-de-lis only. In d'Eschavannes' *Traité complet de la science de Blason*, 1880, the same coronet is described as the "couronne des princes du sang," and the coronet with fleurs-de-lis only as the "couronne des enfants de France."

It would seem that the use of crowns and coronets in the sixteenth century was not exact.

Another peculiarity is that all four shields are surrounded by what seems to be the Cordelière, an order instituted in 1498 by Anne de Bretagne, after the death of her first husband Charles VIII., for widow ladies of noble families. The Cordelière was subsequently placed round the armorial bearings of many widows; it was so used by Queen Henrietta Maria after the execution of Charles I., and appears on her personal seal which closed a letter to her son Charles II., dated 22nd October 1651, in the Seaforth collection.

III.

CUP-MARKS ON THE STONE CIRCLES AND STANDING-STONES OF
ABERDEENSHIRE AND PART OF BANFFSHIRE. BY JAMES
RITCHIE, F.E.I.S., CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

During an examination of the stone circles of Aberdeenshire extending over many years, numerous instances of the occurrence of those mysterious small rounded hollows known as cup-marks have been observed. Special note has been taken of every instance in which they have been found, and the results of this investigation are embodied in the following paper. Though all the circles in Aberdeenshire have been carefully examined, it is quite likely that some of the cup-marks have escaped notice, for the stones on which they are carved have been exposed to the action of the weather for so long a period that in many instances the marks have become almost obliterated. This explains how the accounts of different observers vary as to the number of cups on any individual stone; indeed, the same observer may notice, in a favourable light, some cups which he had not seen on another visit in less favourable light. A stone can be examined to the best advantage when the surface is slightly damp, and when bright sunshine, striking slantingly across its carved face, throws a shadow into each hollow cup. An endeavour has been made to photograph these cup-marks in the light most favourable for each group, so as to show all the details to best advantage. In each case, also, careful attention has been given to the possibility that the cup-like hollows may have been produced by natural weathering instead of by the hand of man, and some cases of natural hollows are cited. For convenience of reference the cup-marks have been arranged according to their occurrence (1) on stone circles, (2) on standing-stones unconnected with circles, and (3) on rock surfaces. In the latter part of the paper an attempt has been made to draw some conclusions as to the age and purpose of these cup-marks, and a tabular summary has been annexed.

CUP-MARKS ON STONE CIRCLES.

Gask or Springhill Circle, Skene.

Only two stones of this circle now remain. They stand on the high ground which lies between the Skene and Echt roads, about 10 miles west of Aberdeen and half a mile south of the village of Echt. The stone to the south-west has no cup-marks upon it, but the one lying to the north-east bears eight rather indistinct cups, nearly all of them placed within a

short distance of the eastern edge of the stone, and their arrangement has been determined by this edge, and by a weathered hollow on the face. These cups average about 2 inches in diameter, and are little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in depth. No ring surrounds any of the cups on the front of the stone, but on the back of it, near the top, there are faint traces of a rather doubtful cup surrounded by a ring 10 inches in diameter. The ring is picked out by the growth of lichens within its slight depression, otherwise it would hardly be noticed. The marks on this side of the stone are best seen on a clear summer morning, between six and seven o'clock, when the sunlight falls on its northern face; during the rest of the day, when this side is in shadow, they become almost invisible. The main group of cup-marks on the front of the stone is most distinct about two o'clock in the afternoon.

Nether Corskie, Echt.

The farm of Nether Corskie lies close to Waterton of Echt, about 3 miles west of the village of Skene. On the farm are two standing-stones, all that now remain of a circle which once stood there. The stone towards the west has two distinct cup-marks upon it—one on the southern, and the other on the western side. Both are plain cups, without any surrounding ring. The larger one is placed near the middle of the stone, on the south side, near its western edge. It measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in depth. The cup on the western side is about 4 feet above the surface of the ground, and measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth. It is on the southern face of this stone that the faint carvings of the mirror-case, mirror, and comb described on p. 38 of vol. xlix. of the *Proceedings* of the Society are to be seen. The more easterly of the two standing-stones has no carvings of any kind on its surface.

Balnacraig, Lumphanan.

The Balnacraig stone circle stands in a small clump of trees a little over 100 yards to the west of the farm-buildings. The recumbent stone facing the south-west is a large block, on the outer face of which are six plain cup-marks. Two of these form a group near the centre of the stone, the smaller of the two being $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, while the larger one is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, but only $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep. Just above the middle line of the stone towards the west side, and about midway between the central cups and the edge of the stone, there is another group of four very shallow cups, almost hidden by the growth of lichens on the surface, so that it requires careful inspection to discover them.

Sunhoney, Midmar.

One of the few complete stone circles in Aberdeenshire stands in a small plantation, on a knoll, a short distance to the north-west of the farmhouse of Sunhoney, which is a little over a mile west of Echt, and about 14 miles from Aberdeen. The circle, which is visible from the main



Fig. 1. Cup-marked Recumbent Stone, Sunhoney Circle.

road, consists of a recumbent stone, two pillars, and nine other standing-stones, making twelve in all. On what is at present the upper surface of the recumbent stone there are numerous cup-marks: but as the stone appears to have fallen over on its inner side, it seems probable that the marks were originally on its outer or southern face. The cups on the fallen block (fig. 1) are thirty-one in number. They are of the usual plain type, without encircling rings, and are from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth, a few, however, being rather shallow and indistinct (fig. 2). There is also, in addition to the number on the main block, a single cup on a fragment of stone which has been split away from the north-west corner of the recumbent stone when it was overturned.

Mr F. R. Coles,¹ after a careful examination of the markings, expressed the opinion that they were natural; but they have been examined by many Aberdeenshire antiquaries, including some skilled in geology, and all agree that they are artificial cup-marks. There is no doubt that Mr Coles was mistaken.



Fig. 2. Principal group of Cup-Marks on Sunhoney Recumbent Stone.

Drumfours, Cushnie.

There is only a single stone of this circle left standing in its original position, and it has no cup-marks upon it; but nearly 30 yards to the east of it there lies a large boulder, on the upper surface of which sixteen cup-marks are visible (fig. 3). They vary slightly in size, two of them being a little larger than the others, while three or four are quite small and indistinct. The remainder are of the ordinary size and depth.

This block of stone must at one time have been a good deal larger than it is now, for one side of it shows marks of a recent fracture with no signs of weathering upon its surface. The block now lies quite close to the edge

¹ *Proceedings*, xxxiv, p. 184.

of a small quarry from which stones are taken to repair the roads in the neighbourhood, and it looks as if an attempt had been made to utilise it for the same purpose. It is unfortunate that the block has been broken, for close to its fractured edge there are a number of faint lines, possibly the remains of an Ogham inscription, but they are too incomplete and indistinct to allow of a satisfactory transliteration or interpretation.

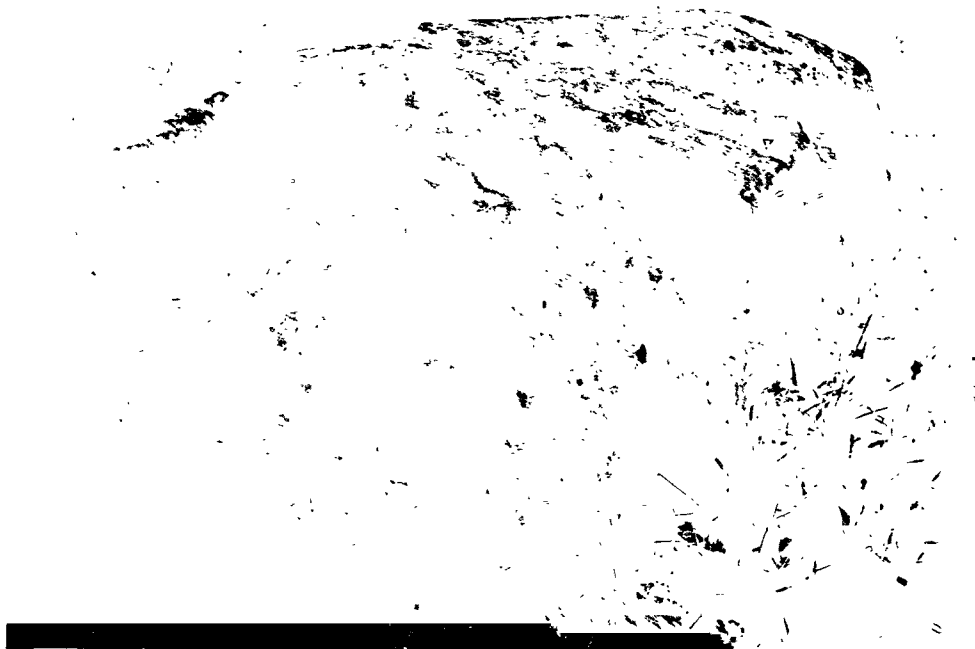


Fig. 3. Cup-marked Stone at Drumfours.

The stone is not in its original position. It at one time lay close to the standing-stone, but was subsequently removed so that the standing-stone could be utilised as a rubbing-post for cattle. The cup-marked block has every appearance of having been originally the recumbent stone of the Drumfours circle.

The "Auld Kirk o' Tough."

The stone circle known as the "Auld Kirk o' Tough" stands near the farm of Denwell, on the south side of the Hill of Corrennie, and is about 5 miles distant from both Whitehouse and Tillyfourie stations, on the

Alford branch railway. The circle is now almost completely destroyed, there being only one stone left standing in its original position. It has no cup-marks upon it, but on the upper surface of a flat stone lying near it there are two cups, one of them being surrounded by a ring. On the moorland in the neighbourhood of the circle there are the remains of many small tumuli.

Potterton, Belhelvie.

The Temple stones at Potterton, about 6 miles north of Aberdeen, consist of a large recumbent stone and its accompanying pillars, both of which have fallen. On the centre of the outside surface of the west pillar, facing the south, there are two small cup-marks placed close together. They are of the common plain type, each measuring 2 inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth. No other cup-marks are visible on any of the remaining stones of the circle.

Balquhain, Chapel of Garioch.

About 3 miles north of Inverurie, on the rising ground a short distance behind the farm-steadings and old castle of Balquhain, a group of standing-stones catches the eye of the traveller along the main road. It is known as the Balquhain circle (fig. 4), and consists of a recumbent stone, two pillars and five other stones, one of which, a tall pillar of white quartz, forms a prominent object slightly outside the circumference of the circle.

Three of the stones belonging to the Balquhain circle are cup-marked. On the top of the recumbent stone there is a single, small, cup-like hollow, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. Its sides are almost perpendicular, and its bottom flat, so that it is more sharply defined than the ordinary cup-mark is. Indeed, it is not unlike the commencement of a bore-hole intended to hold gunpowder, for the breaking up of the large recumbent stone into pieces suitable for building purposes. There are no other cup-marks visible on the surface of the recumbent stone. On the upper surface of the fallen east pillar, however, there are four, varying in size from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter (fig. 5). Three of these are $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, while the fourth is only a $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep. These four cup-marks are all situated on the lower half of the face of the stone, which looked towards the centre of the circle when the pillar was standing upright in its original position. Near the middle of the stone, a little above the cup-marks, there is a very shallow, ill-defined, circular hollow, which may possibly be the remains of a fifth cup.

On the standing-stone next to the west pillar there are twenty-five cups of the usual size, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and from a $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch



Fig. 4. General view of Balquhain Stone Circle.

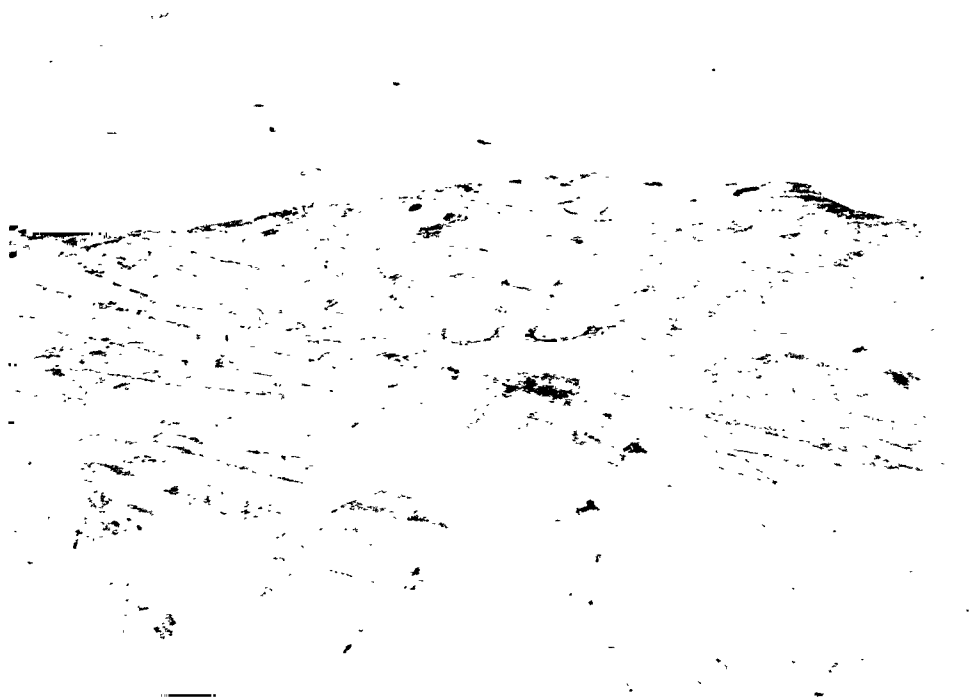


Fig. 5. Cup-Marks on fallen East Pillar, Balquhain Circle.

deep (fig. 6). They are carved on the side of the stone which faces the exterior of the circle, and are all of the plain type without any encircling

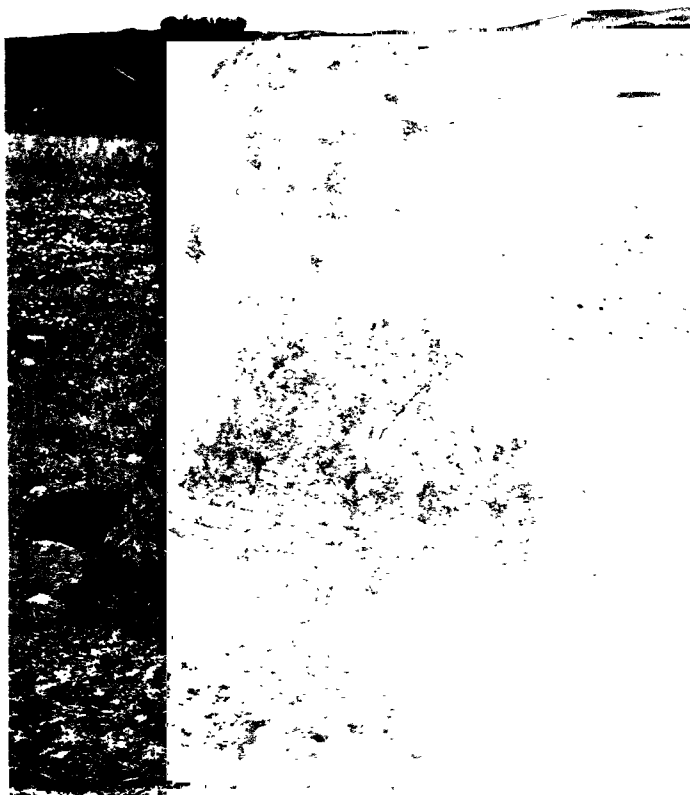


Fig. 6. Cup-Marks on Standing-Stone next to West Pillar at Balquhain Circle.

ring. While the greater number are apparently scattered irregularly over the surface of the stone, there are two well-marked groups among them. One of these occurs near the western edge, a little below the middle of the stone. It consists of three cups, placed at equal distances, one above another, in an almost perpendicular line. The second group

is situated near the base of the stone, and is composed of six cups, placed at equal distances from each other, in a horizontal line. The positions of these two groups have been determined by natural features of the stone surface, the former lying along an edge or shoulder, the latter along a raised line due to the presence of a harder vein in the stone, which has come to project slightly through weathering. Several of the remaining cups might be associated together to form other groups, but these are not clearly defined, and the relationships may, after all, be only accidental. One of the cups is placed so close to the base of the stone that some of the soil and vegetation had to be removed before it could be photographed, and on a recent visit it was found to be entirely hidden.

Balhaggardy, Chapel of Garioch.

This farm is about 2 miles from Inverurie, and contains within its boundaries about half the area of the battlefield of Harlaw. It is divided into two portions, East and West Balhaggardy, and on the lintel above the back door of the old farmhouse of East Balhaggardy occur the sculptures described on page 33 of vol. xlix. of the *Proceedings* of the Society. At the east end of the ridge on which the battle of Harlaw was fought there is a large standing-stone, the sole remnant of a circle (fig. 7). On the north side of this stone there are twenty-four cup-marks of the usual size and type, none of them being ring-marked. Owing to their position on the north or shady side of the stone, and to the shallowness of many of the hollows, they are rather difficult to observe. They can be best seen shortly after sunrise or just before sunset during the height of summer; at other times the shallower ones are almost invisible. They are scattered irregularly over the surface of the stone, with the exception of four, which are situated near the base and which are placed in a horizontal line. It is remarkable that this stone, like that at Balquhain, has a single cup-mark near the middle of the base, close to the ground, and often hidden by the vegetation.

Newcraig, Daviot.

This circle stands in a small plantation about 1 mile north of the parish church of Daviot, and a few hundred yards from the farmhouse of Newcraig. The recumbent stone and pillars are prominent objects at the edge of the wood, but very few of the standing-stones now remain. It is not possible now to ascertain whether or not the recumbent stone had any cup-marks upon it, for many years ago the upper portion of it was blasted off with gunpowder by a mason who wished to use it for building purposes, and who did considerable damage to the circle before

his operations were stopped. The west pillar, however, has a number of hollows somewhat like cup-marks on its surface, and though several of



Fig. 7. Cup-marked Stone at Balhaggardy.

these have an artificial appearance, the majority are clearly caused by the action of the weather. It seems the safest plan, therefore, to regard them all as natural markings.

Hidden in the plantation, nearly 50 yards behind the recumbent stone, there lies a large boulder, thickly overgrown with moss and lichen. Eight

or nine cup-marks were visible upon the upper surface of this stone, but when the moss had been scraped away many more were revealed. They number in all nineteen, the majority of them being situated beside the edge of a large hollow near the middle of the stone. The largest cup is 3 inches in diameter and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in depth. Another one is also 3 inches in diameter, but is only $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. A third cup measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, while its depth is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Nine cups are each about 2 inches in diameter, and their depth varies from a $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The remaining seven cups are very shallow, and so faint and indistinct as to be visible only when the stone is carefully examined in a good light. There is no ring round any of these cups. The stone upon which they are placed does not appear to have been one of the standing-stones of the circle, as it lies about 20 yards beyond the circumference, towards the east. It is more likely to have been an outlying stone, like that found at the Balquhain circle, about 4 miles to the south-west of Newcraig, and at the Shelden circle, a similar distance to the south-east.

Loanhead, Daviot.

This fine circle stands in a wood on the estate of Mounie, near the farm of Loanhead, a short distance north of the village of Daviot, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of the Newcraig circle. Its most noticeable feature is the recumbent stone which at first sight appears to consist of two parallel blocks placed at a distance of nearly 1 foot from each other. A closer inspection, however, shows that it is really a single block, which at some far distant time has been split along its length, and thus made to look like two separate stones. No similar instance of an apparently double recumbent stone occurs in Aberdeenshire, but the recumbent stone at Braehead, in the parish of Leslie, appears to be slowly undergoing a like change, owing to the action of the weather on a soft band running through the middle of it.

There are no cup-marks visible on the recumbent stone, but upon the standing-stone next to the east pillar there are twelve plain cups. They are situated on the inner face of the stone, which points towards the centre of the circle (fig. 8). Near the western edge of the stone five cups are placed, one above another, in an almost perpendicular line. Each of the three lower members of this group is 2 inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth, while the two upper members are $\frac{1}{2}$ inch less in diameter and only $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep. A little to the left, near the upper end of the group, there is a single cup, 1 inch in diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in depth. Near the centre of the stone there is another group of cups very similar in appearance to that already described. It also consists of five cups in an almost perpendicular line, with a sixth, a little to the left, nearly in the middle

of the stone. All the cups in this second group are about 1 inch in diameter and very shallow. In the wood, a short distance to the north-



Fig. 8. Cup-Marks on Standing-Stone next to East Pillar, Loanhead Circle.

west of the circle, there are a number of rocks exposed. On the upper surface of one of these, two plain cups are to be seen; but though they are similar in size and appearance to those on the standing-stone, they do not seem to be connected with the circle.

Loanend, Premnay.

On the top of the ridge near the farm-steading of Loanend, in the parish of Premnay, there are two stones, all that now remain of the Loanend circle. The larger of the two blocks is the recumbent stone, but its accompanying pillars have disappeared. In a slight hollow on the top of it there are two plain cups of the usual type, fully 12 inches distant



Fig. 9. Recumbent Stone, Braehead, Leslie.

from each other. The larger of them measures $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth: the smaller is $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter and also $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth. There are no other cups visible either on the recumbent stone or on the standing-stone at a little distance from it. In the neighbourhood of this circle several cists have been found within recent years.

Braehead, Leslie.

On the high ground at Braehead of Leslie, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Inch, there lies a large rectangular block of stone (fig. 9), 10 feet

3 inches long, 3 feet 2 inches broad, and nearly 6 feet high. It is the recumbent stone of a circle, all the other members of which have long since disappeared. A curious groove runs lengthwise right round the stone. It has the appearance of having been artificially formed, but is really a natural flaw in the stone, where a softer band of material has been worn away by the action of the weather. In course of time this stone will probably split into two parts like the recumbent stone at Loanhead already mentioned. Several cists have, at different times, been discovered in the neighbourhood of this stone. But the most interesting thing about the block is that its eastern end rests upon another block, 3 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches broad, and about 1 foot thick, and that upon the upper surface of this supporting block are four cup-marks. The largest cup, which measures 2 inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth, is situated close to the outer edge, near the south-east corner of the stone. Near the north-west corner there is a smaller cup, 1 inch in diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep. Each of the two remaining cups is about 1 inch in diameter and very shallow. They lie close together, in the shadow, right under the recumbent stone, and can be more easily felt by the hand than seen by the eye; probably for that reason they have hitherto passed unnoticed.

Pitglassie, Auchterless.

About 6 miles west of Auchterless railway station, and 3 miles north of the Kirktown of Auchterless, there are the remains of a circle which, until quite recent times, stood intact. Rather less than half a century ago, however, the tenant who at that time occupied the farm, finding that the stones interfered somewhat with his cultivation of the ground, gathered them together into a heap beside the recumbent stone, and there they now lie. On a stone 5 feet 6 inches high, which stands close to the recumbent stone, and appears to have been its east pillar, there are eight cups of the ordinary form, unaccompanied by rings. They are all somewhat similar in size, being from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches in diameter and from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth. None of the other stones appears to be cup-marked, but they are so huddled together that it is difficult to examine them thoroughly.

Tofthills, Clatt.

The farm of Tofthills is in the parish of Clatt, 1 mile north-east of the Kirktown, and about 3 miles south-west of Kennethmont railway station. Built into the garden dyke close to the farm-steading there is a fine cup-marked block of grey granite, upon the upper surface of which an ancient cross has been incised (fig. 10). This cross was described in the *Proceedings*

Loanend, Premnay.

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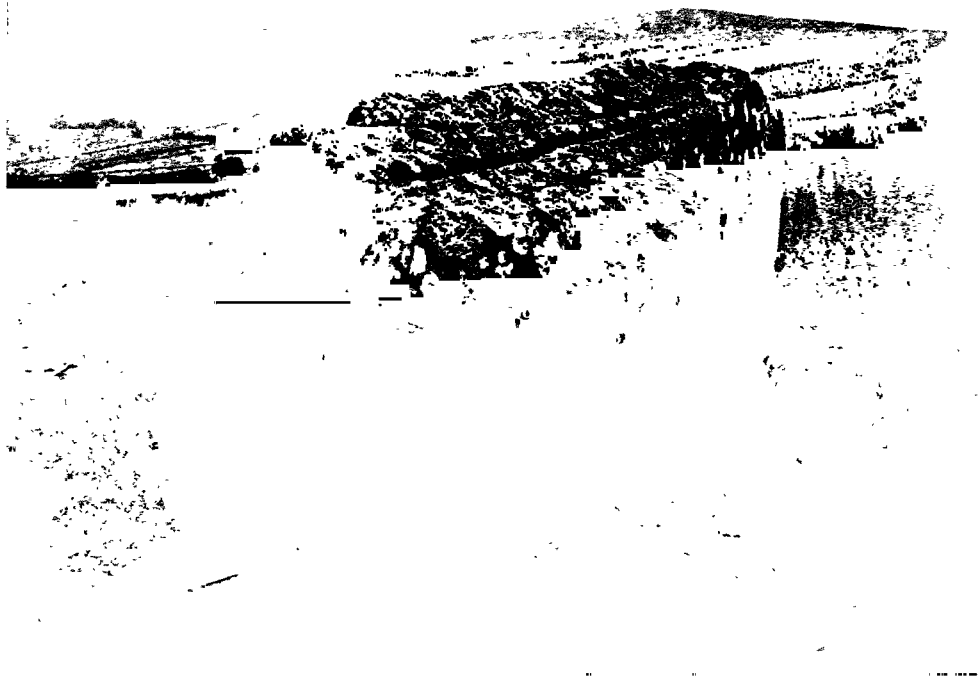


Fig. 9. Recumbent Stone, Braehead, Leslie.

from each other. The larger of them measures $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth: the smaller is $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter and also $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth. There are no other cups visible either on the recumbent stone or on the standing-stone at a little distance from it. In the neighbourhood of this circle several cists have been found within recent years.

Braehead, Leslie.

On the high ground at Braehead of Leslie, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Insch, there lies a large rectangular block of stone (fig. 9), 10 feet

3 inches long, 3 feet 2 inches broad, and nearly 6 feet high. It is the recumbent stone of a circle, all the other members of which have long since disappeared. A curious groove runs lengthwise right round the stone. It has the appearance of having been artificially formed, but is really a natural flaw in the stone, where a softer band of material has been worn away by the action of the weather. In course of time this stone will probably split into two parts like the recumbent stone at Loanhead already mentioned. Several cists have, at different times, been discovered in the neighbourhood of this stone. But the most interesting thing about the block is that its eastern end rests upon another block, 3 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches broad, and about 1 foot thick, and that upon the upper surface of this supporting block are four cup-marks. The largest cup, which measures 2 inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth, is situated close to the outer edge, near the south-east corner of the stone. Near the north-west corner there is a smaller cup, 1 inch in diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep. Each of the two remaining cups is about 1 inch in diameter and very shallow. They lie close together, in the shadow, right under the recumbent stone, and can be more easily felt by the hand than seen by the eye; probably for that reason they have hitherto passed unnoticed.

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About 6 miles west of Auchterless railway station, and 3 miles north of the Kirktown of Auchterless, there are the remains of a circle which, until quite recent times, stood intact. Rather less than half a century ago, however, the tenant who at that time occupied the farm, finding that the stones interfered somewhat with his cultivation of the ground, gathered them together into a heap beside the recumbent stone, and there they now lie. On a stone 5 feet 6 inches high, which stands close to the recumbent stone, and appears to have been its east pillar, there are eight cups of the ordinary form, unaccompanied by rings. They are all somewhat similar in size, being from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches in diameter and from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth. None of the other stones appears to be cup-marked, but they are so huddled together that it is difficult to examine them thoroughly.

Tofthills, Clatt.

The farm of Tofthills is in the parish of Clatt, 1 mile north-east of the Kirktown, and about 3 miles south-west of Kennethmont railway station. Built into the garden dyke close to the farm-steading there is a fine cup-marked block of grey granite, upon the upper surface of which an ancient cross has been incised (fig. 10). This cross was described in the *Proceedings*



Fig. 10. Top of the Tothills Stone.



Fig. 11. Cup-marked side of the Tothills Stone.

of the Society, vol. xlv. pp. 212-214, where attention was also drawn to the cup-marks. The stone is broken, and part of its surface is hidden by the dyke, but as far as can be seen there are at least thirty cups upon it. They are of various sizes, several of them being nearly 4 inches in diameter, and they also vary slightly in depth. They are placed close together, in somewhat irregular lines across the visible portion of the stone (fig. 11). All are plain cups, no spirals or rings are to be seen upon the stone except such as are connected with the cross incised upon it. The cups are not confined to one side of the stone, but are distributed over all



Fig. 12. Symbols on the back of the Banchory Stone, No. 5.

its visible surface. If, as seems likely, the cross was originally incised upon the upright face of the stone, then the cups must have been carved both upon the top and the sides of the block.

It is not known with certainty where this stone originally stood, but it was found in 1879 in the foundation of the barn when that structure was being rebuilt. Mr William Bisset had it removed to the dyke for preservation, and at the time made diligent inquiry to discover if possible its original site. He concluded from all he could learn that it was one of the standing-stones of a circle which at one time stood a short distance north of the farm-buildings. All the stones belonging to this circle have been removed, but its site is still known in the neighbourhood as "The Sunken Kirk." There is a spring near by, known as the holy well, which gives its name to the farm of Holywell on the north side of Tofthills.



The proximity of this holy well to the stone circle in all probability explains how a Christian cross came to be carved upon a cup-marked stone.

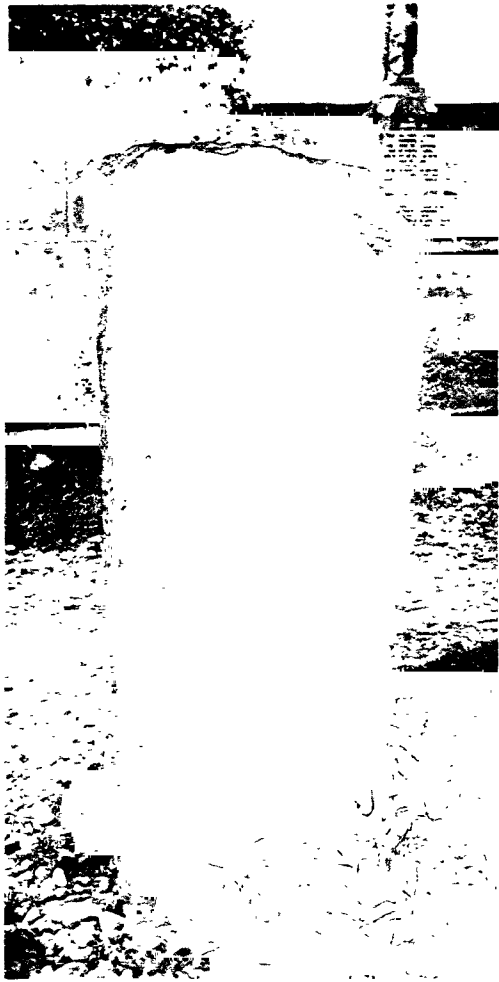


Fig. 13. Cup-marked Sculptured Stone in Dingwall Churchyard.

Another instance of the occurrence of Christian symbols upon a cup-marked stone occurs at Banchory House, fully a mile west of Aberdeen (fig. 12). In the flower garden, close to the house, there lies a fragment of a sculptured stone with symbols on both sides. It originally came from Dinnacair near Stonehaven, and it has upon one of its sides a well-defined cup-mark. This stone was described in the *Proceedings*, vol. xlix. pp. 36 and 37. A third example may be seen in the churchyard of Dingwall, where there stands a cup-marked stone (fig. 13) with early Christian symbols carved both on front and back (*Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, part iii. pp. 56 and 57).

BANFFSHIRE CUP-MARKED CIRCLES.

The four cup-marked circles now to be described are situated in Banffshire, within a short distance of the northern boundary of Aberdeenshire, and therefore practically within the same ancient geographical district. It seems fitting, therefore, that they should be included in this paper,

especially as the cup-marks upon them are of the same character as those actually within the Aberdeenshire borders.

Thorax.

The farm of Thorax lies about 3 miles east of Glenbarry railway station. Near the middle of a field, to the west of the farm-buildings,

there is a small clump of wood, surrounded by a wall, built into which the six stones of a small circle may be observed standing erect. The



Fig. 14. Cup-marked Stone at Thorax Circle.

circle has no recumbent stone, and is chiefly notable for the cup-marked stone on its north-west side. This is a block of whinstone, 4 feet 8 inches high, which has on its inner surface, facing the centre of the circle, twenty-five cups, all of the ordinary type, unaccompanied by rings (fig. 14). One specially large cup close to the edge of the stone, near the top, measures

4 inches in diameter and is nearly 1 inch in depth. The others, though varying slightly in size, average about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, and are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. A few of them, however, are very shallow, and as the face of the stone is somewhat shadowed by the neighbouring dyke, those on the lower portion of it especially are not easily seen.

St Brandan's Stones.

Rather less than a mile to the east of Tillynaught railway station, on the farm of Templeton, are situated the remains of a circle known locally as "St Brandan's Stanes." The circle is in a very dilapidated condition; the recumbent stone has disappeared, and there remain in position only the two pillars, with a cluster of broken and displaced stones huddled round them. The west pillar, a column of grey granite about 6 feet high, has on its northern side, facing the interior of the circle, a group of twelve cup-marks (fig. 15). These are placed on the rounded surface of the lower part of the stone, and are all well-marked cups of the usual size, without any surrounding rings. The lowest five cups are situated so near the base of the stone that the long grass almost hid them from view, and it had to be torn away before they could be properly seen and photographed.

Rothiemay.

This circle stands in a field on the home farm at Rothiemay House, a little to the north of the village, and nearly 3 miles north-east of Rothiemay railway station. When complete the circle must have been an imposing structure, containing probably twelve standing-stones of which, however, only the recumbent stone and four erect stones now remain. About 1845 the other stones were removed, without authority, by the grieve then at the home farm. When his action came to the knowledge of the proprietor of the estate, the removal of the stones was immediately stopped, and two of them, then in process of removal, were deposited near the gate leading into the field.

It is not, however, for its size that the Rothiemay stone circle is chiefly remarkable, but for the numerous cup-marks upon it. It is by far the best cup-marked circle in the north-east of Scotland. The cups are found on the recumbent stone, and on the standing-stone to the east of it. This latter is not one of the pillars which flank the recumbent stone, for both of them have been removed, but it is the stone which stood next to the east pillar. It is 5 feet 9 inches high and 4 feet broad, and on the side of it looking towards the exterior of the circle there are seven cup-marks (fig. 16). The highest one is situated near the centre of the stone, while the others are placed near its base, one of them being so close to

the bottom that it is frequently hidden by the soil and vegetation, like the cup-mark on the Balquhain circle. Three of the cups form a group



Fig. 15. Cup-marked West Pillar, St Brandan's Stones.

like an equilateral triangle. Similar groups are to be seen on a number of the Aberdeenshire circles, but it is often difficult to decide whether the grouping is intentional or accidental. In this case it seems to be intentional. Two of the remaining cups are so placed as to form, along with the base of the triangle, a horizontal line of cups similar to those

on the Balquhain and Balhaggardy stones. The cups are all of the average size, though somewhat shallow, and there are no rings round any of them.



Fig. 16. Cup-marked Stone next to East Pillar, Rothiemay Circle.

The Rothiemay recumbent stone is a huge rectangular block of whinstone, about 14 feet long, 4 feet broad and 5 feet high (fig. 17). It has cups on two of its surfaces—the top, and the northern side, which looked towards the interior of the circle. On the top there are twelve plain

cups, most of which are situated near the centre of the block. The inner surface of the stone has a great many cups scattered thickly all over it. Several drawings of this cup-marked surface have been published, but none are wholly satisfactory. By far the best is that made by Mr F. R. Coles from rubbings of the marks taken by the late Mr Geddes, school-master of Rothiemay, and figured in the *Proceedings*, vol. xxxvii. p. 227, but unfortunately it does not include the whole surface of the stone, and is therefore incomplete.



Fig. 17. Cup-marked Recumbent Stone, Rothiemay Circle.

This is a difficult stone to photograph, and the discrepancies in the published drawings of it are easily accounted for. Its inner and principal cup-marked face looks towards the north-east, and is therefore in shadow during the greater part of the day. Consequently, at the time when most visitors examine it, many of the shallower cups are almost invisible, and are thus easily overlooked. The best time to examine the cup-marked face of the stone is shortly after sunrise on a bright midsummer morning, when, for a short time, the sunlight strikes slantingly across the surface, and throws a dark shadow into each hollow cup. The accompanying photograph was taken under such favourable conditions, but to procure it, home was left in the evening and the greater part of the night spent

beside the stone, waiting for the morning light. It thus shows for the first time the cups visible on the whole upright surface of the recumbent stone. These are 107 in number, and they vary considerably in size. Several of the larger ones are about 5 inches in diameter and 1 inch in depth. The greater number are of the usual size, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, while the remainder are from 1 inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter and very shallow. Four of the larger size are each surrounded by a single ring, but there are no spirals or other lines upon the stone. Several are close to the base of the stone, and the cups are more closely clustered together at the bottom than near the top of it, the arrangement of a line of four at the right-hand bottom corner of the photograph being noticeably determined by the edge which they flank.

The Harestanes, Feith-hill.

The farm of Feith-hill lies nearly 2 miles west of the Pitglassie circle and about 7 miles south-west of Turriff. Though within the county of Banff, it touches the northern boundary of Aberdeenshire. On the rising ground to the north of the farm there once stood a circle of which now only two stones remain. These are the recumbent stone and the fallen west pillar, and they are known locally as "The Harestanes." On what is now the upper surface of the fallen stone there are six plain cup-marks; but when the stone stood in its original position on the west side of the recumbent stone, the cup-marked surface was turned to the outside of the circle.

CUP-MARKS ON STANDING-STONES UNCONNECTED WITH CIRCLES.

Easter Sinnahard, Towie.

In the middle of one of the fields on the farm of Easter Sinnahard, in the parish of Towie, about 10 miles west of Alford, in the valley of the Don, there stands a solitary pillar of stone, known in the locality as "The Lang Stane." It is 5 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet 6 inches broad, and 8 feet 6 inches in circumference, round the middle, about half-way up from the ground. Near the centre of its western side there is a single plain cup, 2 inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth. There are no other cups to be seen elsewhere on the stone.

Blacktop, Peterculter.

About 5 miles west of Aberdeen, and nearly a mile from Countesswells House, lies the farm of Blacktop. The nearest railway station is Bielside, on the Deeside railway, from which a road leads directly to the farm.

On the opposite side of the road from the farm-buildings there stands a cottage, past the east end of which an old and little-used road strikes

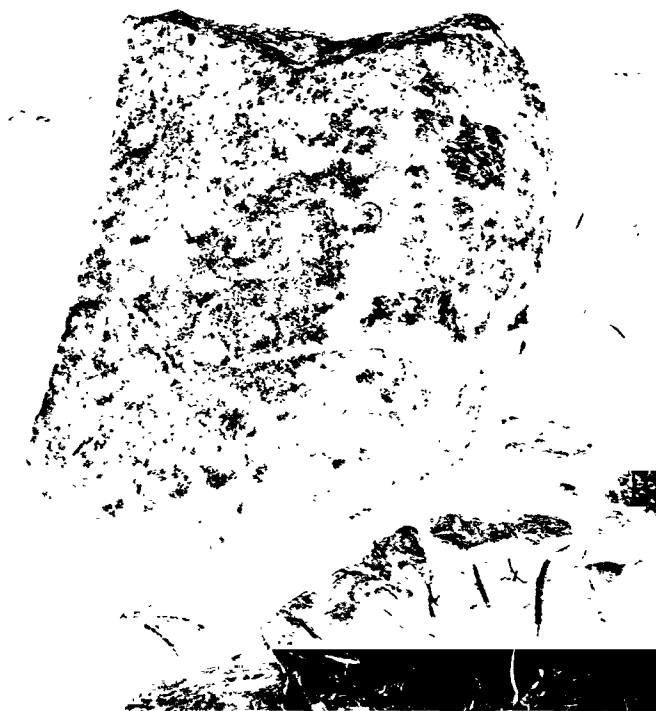


Fig. 18. Cup-marked Standing-Stone at Blacktop.

northward for about a couple of hundred yards, and then bends westwards towards the wood on the higher ground. Along both sides of this road numerous boulders lie scattered, and one of these, which stands on the southern edge of the road, has a large number of cup-marks incised on one of its sides (fig. 18).

The cup-marked stone is a block of porphyry nearly 4 feet high and 2 feet 9 inches broad. In section it is wedge-shaped, being 2 feet 10 inches wide at the base, and gradually decreasing to 9 inches at the top. One side of the stone, that facing the east, has a flat surface, probably made by the rubbing action of ice in the far-distant past. This flat surface does not extend quite to the bottom of the stone, and measures 3 feet 6 inches in height by 2 feet 9 inches in breadth. On it there are thirty-eight cups, so that it is the best-marked stone in Aberdeenshire unconnected with a circle. Many of the cups, however, are shallow, and not easily distinguished. Five of the cups have a single ring round each of them, while a sixth has two rings; but in all these cases the rings are very shallow, and it is with great difficulty that they can be traced at all. The majority of the cups are of the usual size, from 2 to 3 inches in diameter, and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, but many of them are much shallower. The lowest part of the circumference of the lowest cup is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch above the bottom edge of the smoothed face of the stone, so that it is little above the surface of the ground. The cups on this stone are best seen when the sunlight strikes slantingly along its eastern face, shortly before ten o'clock in the forenoon.

The Ringing Stone, Leslie.

There is a standing-stone on the farm of Johnstone, in the parish of Leslie, nearly 6 miles south-west of Inch railway station. It is called "The Ringing Stone," but why it is so called no one in the neighbourhood can explain satisfactorily. One suggestion is that the name is a corruption of "St Ninian's Stone," similar to that of the village of St Ninians near Stirling, which is known locally as St Ringans. Another explanation is that the name may have arisen from the ringing sound produced when the stone is sharply struck. The stone itself is a pillar of whinstone 6 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet 6 inches wide, and averaging 1 foot in thickness. It is cup-marked on both sides. On its eastern face, close to the southern edge and rather more than 2 feet above the surface of the ground, there is a single small but well-defined cup, 2 inches in diameter and fully $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth.

On the western face of the stone there are six plain cups similar to the solitary one on the other side. The two largest measure, each, 2 inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. The remaining four are somewhat smaller, being only $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter and slightly over $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in depth. One of the cups is situated quite near the base of the stone, just 6 inches above the surface of the soil, so that it is apt to be overlooked when the vegetation is rank. In addition to these six distinct cups, there are faint traces of two rather doubtful ones about half-way up near the

northern edge of the stone. An old road now seldom used passes within a few yards of the stone.

The Ringing Stone at Johnstone is included among the cup-marked

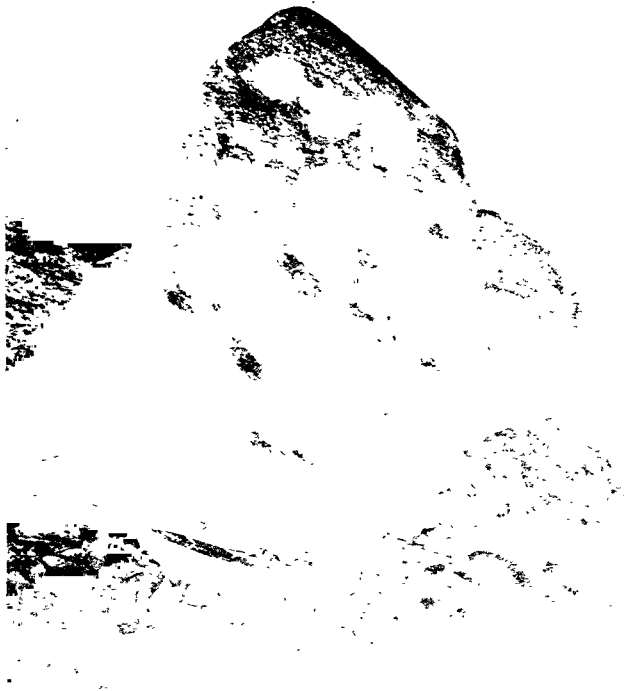


Fig. 19. Cup-marked Stone, Mytice, Gartly.

stones unconnected with circles, because there is no known record of a stone circle ever having occupied the site. But while this is so, the stone itself is in appearance very like one of the pillars which accompany a recumbent stone. In this connection it is interesting to note that there is another Ringing Stone which is undoubtedly a member of a stone circle.

It is situated on the high ground quite close to Rothiemay railway station, about 15 miles to the north-west of the Ringing Stone at Johnstone. It is known to be the recumbent stone of a circle variously known as the Ernehill, Arnhill, or Haddoch circle, now almost destroyed. On its northern side, which faced the interior of the circle, there are several curved grooves of a somewhat artificial appearance, but which almost certainly have been caused by the action of the weather upon the surface of the stone.

Mytice, Gartly.

The farm of Mytice lies near the Kirkney Burn, which flows along the valley on the north side of the hill known as The Tap o' Noth, on whose summit there is a large and well-known vitrified fort. The farm is about 3 miles west of the railway station at Gartly, and is the place at which the Percylieu sculptured stone lay for many years before it was removed to its present site at Leith Hall, Kennethmont. A well-marked cup-stone lies beside the farmhouse (fig. 19). It measures 1 foot 11 inches in height, 1 foot 3 inches in breadth, and is about 4 inches thick. The original position it occupied is unknown. It was found by Mr William Hardy, nephew of Mr Knight, at that time tenant of Mytice, in a stone dyke on the farm of Finglennie, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant. In all likelihood it at one time stood on the ground near the dyke, to which it had been removed when the land was cleared of stones, so that it might be brought under cultivation.

The Mytice stone is cup-marked on both sides. On that shown in the photograph there are sixteen cups, and there is a similar number on the other side. They vary in size from a diameter of 2 inches to nearly 4 inches. The depth also varies, the smaller cups being correspondingly shallow, and some of the larger cups being nearly 1 inch deep. There are no encircling rings on the stone, but in two instances a couple of neighbouring cups have been joined together by a channel somewhat less in depth than the cups themselves, so that they form a figure like a dumb-bell. A single cup and also a dumb-bell group lie close to the base of the stone.

CUP-MARKS ON ROCKS AND BOULDERS.

For the purpose of enabling a comparison to be made between the cups on the stone circles and standing-stones, and those found on rock surfaces in the same district, one or two of the best marked of the latter will now be described and illustrated.

Glack, Migvie.

Glack is a farm in the parish of Migvie, and lies nearly 4 miles west of Tarland and about 6 miles north of Dinnet station on the Deeside railway. Just outside the garden gate beside the farmhouse there is a large block of red granite almost 3 feet long, nearly as broad, and 1 foot 6 inches high (fig. 20). Upon the upper surface of this boulder there are

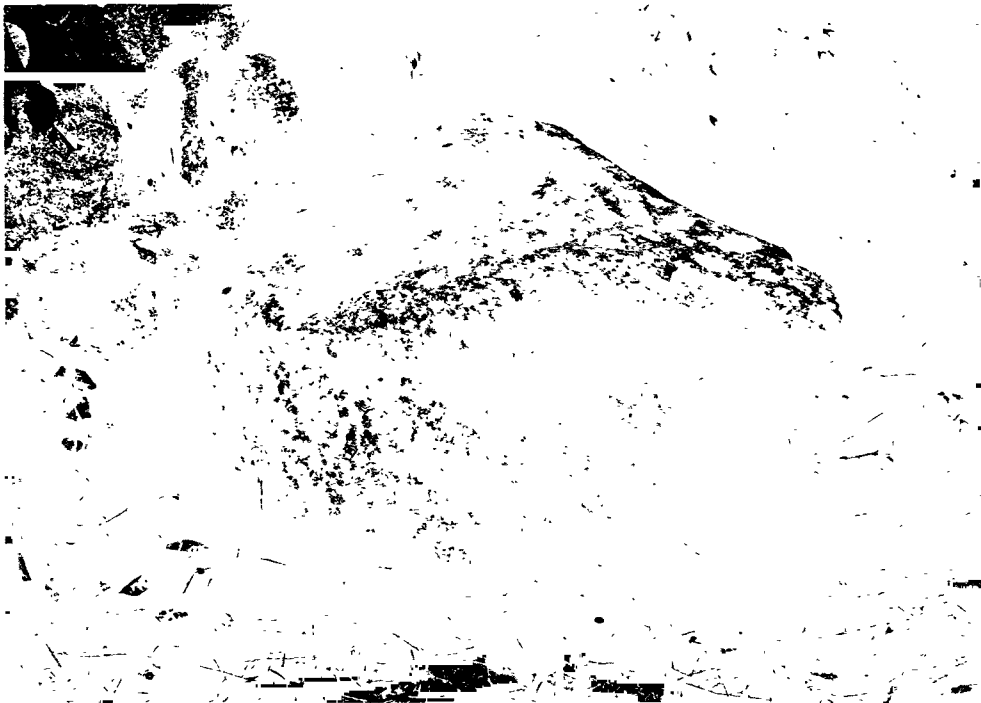


Fig. 20. Cup-marked Stone at Glack, Migvie.

forty cups, ranging from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 inch in depth. The great majority are of the plain type unaccompanied by rings, but there are several of peculiar form. In one instance, two of the cups have been connected by a hollow almost as deep as the cups themselves so as to form an elongated groove. In another case three cups have been similarly joined, so as to make a figure like the capital letter T or a St Anthony's cross. A second example of this shape occurs, but it is not so well formed and distinct as the first one. The fourth example is the most peculiar of all. It consists of four nearly equidistant cups,

which have been joined together by grooves crossing each other at right angles, so as to form a cross. The arms of this cross are nearly equal in length, there being a cup-mark at each of the four ends. The length of the cross thus formed is 6 inches from top to bottom, and its breadth is 5 inches from end to end of the cross arms.

No forms at all like these crosses are to be seen on any of the other cup-marked stones of Aberdeenshire, but their presence at Glack may,



Fig. 21. Cup-marked Stone at Avochie, near Rothiemay.

I think, be accounted for by the peculiar associations of the locality. The stone is situated on one side of the farm-steading on the other side of which are the parish church and churchyard of Migvie. In the churchyard there stands a well-known Celtic interlaced-work cross, which has several early Christian symbols carved on the surface of the stone close to the shaft of the cross. At Tillypronie, too, there is another sculptured stone which was found in the district, and which also has several early Christian symbols carved on it. These indicate that long ago some workmen skilled in stone-carving resided for a

time in this neighbourhood, and one of them may have consecrated the stone by changing the pagan cups into Christian crosses.

Avochie.

In the neighbourhood of Rothiemay, besides the cup-marked stone circle, there are a number of other cup-marked stones. The best of these is situated close to the border of Aberdeenshire, on the rising ground about half-way between Rothiemay village and Avochie House, and nearly 2 miles east of Rothiemay railway station (fig. 21). It is a large whinstone boulder, 11 feet long and 9 feet broad, rising to a height of about 3 feet above the surface of the ground. On its upper surface there are about eighty cups, varying in size from a little over 1 inch to nearly 4 inches in diameter, many of them, however, being shallow and indistinct. The stone, however, is remarkable for the large number of ringed cups which it has on it. There are altogether seventeen cups each surrounded by a single ring, though in many cases the rings are faint and indistinct. In one or two cases the rings touch each other, either by design or by accident. A very fine plan of this stone, showing all the cups and rings, has been drawn by Mr F. R. Coles, and appears in the *Proceedings* of the Society, vol. xl. p. 319.

Cuttlecraigs.

Some years ago, during the process of clearing away a number of stones which encumbered a portion of this farm, a cup-marked boulder was destroyed by blasting. A portion of it was removed by Mr Walker, who occupied the farm at the time, and it now lies in the garden leaning against the wall of the farmhouse. The number of cups originally on the boulder is unknown, but on the fragment of it which has been preserved there are fifteen of the ordinary type, several of them being shallow. The stone seems to have suffered much from the action of the weather.

Culsh Eirde House, Tarland.

A fine example of an eirde or underground house occurs near the farmhouse of Culsh, 2 miles east of Tarland. Its entrance is only about 3 feet high and correspondingly narrow, but as the passage proceeds inwards it increases in width and height until a fairly wide chamber is formed, in which a man can stand upright. If the visitor within the chamber looks towards the entrance, he will see a cup-mark on one of the stones built into the wall on his right hand. Another cup will be found on a stone near the entrance.

From the above examples it will be seen that the cup-marks on the rock surfaces in Aberdeenshire are similar in character to those found on the stone circles and standing-stones of the county.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

It will be noticed from the foregoing descriptions that the cup-marks on stones which form parts of circles are not distributed, as it were, casually, on any of the members of the circle, but are all found either on the recumbent stone or in its immediate neighbourhood. As far as can be ascertained from the Aberdeenshire circles now in existence, the cups occur only on the recumbent stones, the east and west pillars, and the stones next to these pillars. But they do not occur on all the circles in the county; on some of the most perfect, such as those at Auquhorthies near Inverurie, and Cothiemuir near Keig, no cup-marks are found. Neither are they exclusively confined to circles and the stones near them, for, as has been shown, they are also found on living rock, and on boulders which have evidently never formed parts of circles, as at Avochie and Migvie.

The cups on the stone circles and those on the detached boulders are similar in design. The great majority are simple cups, from 2 to 3 inches in diameter and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. A few are joined together in pairs to form a figure like a dumb-bell, and a rather larger number are surrounded by a ring, the ringed specimens being chiefly found in the Rothiemay district. The rings are usually single; one or two double rings occur, but in no case are there more than two. The rings are always shallower than the cups they surround, and in many instances they are so faint as to be almost invisible unless the light is good and the surface of the stone wet. No examples of spirals or of the elaborate designs found in various southern districts have as yet been discovered in Aberdeenshire.

Except in a few instances, the cups do not appear to be clustered together so as to form any definite design. In a few cases, as at Balquhain, Balhaggardy, and Loanhead, a number of the cups are arranged in lines, horizontal or perpendicular, and the position of these is frequently determined by some natural feature in the stone. In some instances there appear to be groups of two or three cups, and in the latter case the three often appear to form a figure of triangular shape with equal sides, but whether this occurs by accident or design it is impossible to say.

The hollows appear to have been formed by the rotation of some hard substance, such as a rounded stone, within them, for they are always circular and have smooth sloping sides and rounded base. In no case have any distinct marks of tooling come under the notice of the observer, and the shallowest cups, which seem to have been just commenced, are

quite as smooth as the deepest ones which are presumably finished. One would expect to find, in the neighbourhood of the cup-marked stones, some remains of the implements by which these hollows were formed, but such remains, if they exist, have not been recognised. Flints and rubbed stones do not appear to be more numerous beside the cup-marked stones than in other places. Perhaps the great age of the cups may account for the dispersal of the instruments by which they were formed.

It is evident that these cup-marks are of very ancient date. There are many interesting traditions, forming what may be called the folklore of the Aberdeenshire stone circles, but none of the stories attempt to account for the occurrence of the cup-marks upon them. Nor is this to be wondered at, for, it seems to me, there is evidence that the cups are at least as old as the circles themselves, and in some cases probably older. In several instances the cups are so placed as to show that they have been carved on the stones before these were put into their present position. On the cup-marked standing-stones at Balquhain, Balhaggardy, Rothiemay, and Johnstone there is in each case a cup at the base of the stone, so close to the level of the ground that it is frequently entirely hidden by the vegetation. On the interior surface of the west pillar at St Brandan's stones there are twelve cups, all near the base of the stone. In these cases it seems hardly likely that the cups would have been carved out with great labour while the stones stood erect. The evidence rather points to the conclusion that the cups were made while the stones lay flat on the ground, before they were erected as members of their respective circles. The recumbent stone at Rothiemay has the cups on its upright surface more thickly clustered near the base of the stone than near the top, and several of them are just above the ground-level. Again, the recumbent stone at Braehead of Leslie rests upon another stone, which has four cup-marks on its upper surface. These marks are so placed, right underneath the recumbent stone, that they could not possibly have been made while that stone occupied the present site, which is evidently its original position in the circle. Indeed, the use of a cup-marked stone as a support for the recumbent stone rather indicates that the cups had become obsolete before the circle was erected, as has happened in those cases where cup-marked stones have been utilised in the making of eirde houses and stone cists. In any case, the significance of the cup-marks had been lost long before Christian times, for in the cases of stones at Tofthills and Banchory House, as well as a stone at Dingwall, and a boulder at Glack, the pagan monuments have been reconsecrated by the addition of Christian symbols to the older markings.

Many suggestions have been made as to the meaning and purpose of these cup-marks, but no satisfactory explanation of their use has yet

been discovered. So many different forms of them have been found in various districts that it seems unlikely they all had the same significance, and therefore no single explanation can be expected to suit all cases. The following remarks, therefore, are intended only to apply to the plain type of cup as found in Aberdeenshire.

It is somewhat unfortunate that the name "cup-mark" has been so generally adopted to describe these circular hollows, for it at once suggests that their purpose was to contain some kind of liquid. The idea is very prevalent in the localities in Aberdeenshire where they are found that they were intended to hold the blood of sacrifices offered on the "altars" of the stone circles. But this idea is clearly wrong, for many of the recumbent stones are quite unsuitable for use as altars of sacrifice, and could not have been utilised for any such purpose. For instance, the recumbent stones at the Sunhoney and Dyce circles are too narrow on the top for holding a sacrifice; while the recumbent stone at the Cothiemuir circle is rounded on the top and equally unfitted for such use. The cups themselves are found on upright surfaces as well as on flat ones, and though, as already suggested, some of the standing-stones probably had their cups engraved on them before they were erected into the upright position, this does not seem likely to have happened in every instance. The recumbent stone at Rothiemay has cups both on the top and on the inner upright surface, while at Tofthills there are cups almost all round the stone. On the Ringing Stone at Johnstone also, and on the stone at Mytice, there are cups on both sides, which would not likely have been the case had the stones not been intended to stand erect. On the Nether Corskie stone, too, there is a cup on the south and another on the west side, so that no matter in what position the stone lay both cups could not be filled with liquid at the same time.

The positions of many of the cups also make it unlikely that they could have been used to contain votive offerings of any kind.

At first sight the groups of cups seem to bear a close resemblance to the plans of circular huts, clustered together to form villages, the ringed specimens representing the more important dwellings, each enclosed within a protecting trench or pallsade. But it is difficult to believe that the population in the far-distant past could ever have been so dense, as, according to this theory, would have been the case at, say, Rothiemay, where so many cup-marked stones are found, each differing from the others.

That the cups are masons' marks, each representing the claim of the maker of it to a share in the erection of the circle, and perhaps to a right of burial within it, is not likely, for the cups are not confined to circles which have been proved to be burial-places, but are also found on rock surfaces, where no burials could have taken place.

It has been thought by some that the cup-marks were connected with the worship of the heavenly bodies, and may have been intended to represent portions of the starry sky. If they had been star maps, however, there would undoubtedly have been some of the more prominent constellations represented, but none are recognisable. The photograph of the cups on the upright face of the Rothiemay recumbent stone was submitted to an eminent astronomer, but he was unable to recognise in it a resemblance to any portion of our northern heavens.

It has been suggested that the marks may have been a primitive kind of writing, but, if such had been the case, they would naturally fall into more easily recognisable groups than they seem to do. Some groups there undoubtedly are, but they are few in number compared with the number of cups scattered apparently at random. It is certain that these marks must have conveyed ideas of some sort to those who lived in the neighbourhood at the time they were made; but for all that, they do not seem to be divisible into groups forming any kind of rudimentary alphabet.

These cup-marked stones could not have been the anvils on which stone implements were fashioned, for in that case we would have had a large accumulation of chips round the stones which have numerous cup-marks on them; and, conversely, where chips have been found in great numbers, we would have expected to find cup-marked stones also. But these things do not occur together; at the base of the cup-marked stones we find no accumulation of flints, and in other places, where chips have been found in abundance, we have no cup-marked stones.

The large number of small-sized cups on many of the stones seems to preclude the idea that they were primitive mills, used for grinding or pounding seeds, nuts, or other substances, for food. For that purpose a few larger cups would have been all that was necessary, besides being much more easily made, and more efficient.

The wide area over which cup-marked stones are found shows that the ideas underlying their construction must also have been widely prevalent among primitive man. It might be expected, therefore, that we would get some insight into their meaning from studying any similar custom common to the primitive tribes of to-day. Professor Spencer, in his *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, pp. 334-336, describes the discovery of a group of cup-marks carved on the surface of a flat outcrop of sandstone rock, a little south of the Gulf of Carpentaria. They varied in size from 1 or 2 inches in diameter and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth, to 10 or 12 inches in diameter and 6 to 8 inches in depth. The smaller ones are therefore similar to those so common in Aberdeenshire, while the larger ones, though unrepresented in the county, seem to be

not unlike those on the standing-stone in the churchyard of Fodderty, near Strathpeffer, which, in addition to several small cups, has a large and deep one on each side. Unfortunately the purpose for which these Australian cup-marks were made has been forgotten. Professor Spencer says the natives have no knowledge of their origin or meaning, though they believe them to have been the work of Namaran, the Thunder Man.

In Messrs Spencer and Gillen's volume on *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, the marks on the churinga of the natives have been fully described and illustrated. These marks consist largely of circles, spirals, and sinuous bands, which bear a resemblance to some of the rings and spirals found in various districts where cup-marks are found. They do not, however, appear to correspond with our Aberdeenshire cup-marks, where the essential element in the design is the central cup-like depression, wanting on the churinga. Neither do the meanings attached to these figures by the Australian natives who use them help us much. The authors say that "the nature of the design gives at most very little, and usually no clue whatever, to its meaning." "On one churinga, a series of concentric circles or a spiral will represent a man, on another, a frog, on another, a tree, and on another, a water-hole."¹ The attempts, therefore, to correlate these churinga designs with our cup- and ring-marks, and thus to show that the latter represented a sort of rude heraldry, having a social rather than a religious meaning, are somewhat unconvincing.

It has been abundantly proved that our stone circles, whatever other purposes they may have served, were undoubtedly places used for the burial of the dead. From the frequency, therefore, with which cup-marks are found on or near the recumbent stones of these circles, it seems a fair deduction to suppose that the marks must have had some connection with the dead lying within the circles, or with their burial ceremonies. But the marks are also found on rock surfaces, unconnected with stone circles, where, as far as we can judge, no burials have taken place, but in whose neighbourhood there undoubtedly must have existed a considerable population, probably a village. Now we know, from the remains found within stone circles and cists containing urns of a like age, that the inhabitants of that far-back era believed in some kind of life beyond the grave. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the cup-marks, on their burial-places and elsewhere, had some relation to that belief, and were intended in some way to conciliate the spirits of the dead, and induce them to refrain from revisiting the abodes of the living. The conclusion, therefore, appears to be that the Aberdeenshire cup-marks, in several instances, and perhaps in all, are older than the circles on which they are carved, and had in all probability a religious significance.

¹ *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 730.

TABULAR SUMMARY.

Locality.	Number of Cups.	Remarks.	Position of Stone in Circle.
CUP-MARKS ON STONE CIRCLES.			
<i>Aberdeenshire.</i>			
Gask or Springhill.	9	8 on south-east side, 1 doubtful cup and ring on back.	Indeterminate.
Nether Corskie	2	On south and west sides of standing-stone.	Indeterminate.
Balnacraig	6	On outside surface of recumbent stone.	Recumbent stone.
Sunhoney	32	31 on recumbent stone, 1 on broken-off part.	Recumbent stone, none on pillars or other stones.
Drumfours	16	Also Ogham inscription.	Probably recumbent stone.
Auld Kirk o' Tough.	2	1 ringed cup.	Indeterminate.
Potterton	2	On outside of west pillar.	West pillar, none on east pillar or recumbent stone.
Balquhain	30	1 on top of recumbent stone, 4 on east pillar, and 25 on standing-stone next to west pillar.	Recumbent stone, east pillar, and stone next west pillar.
Balhaggardy	24	On north side of standing-stone.	Indeterminate.
Newcraig	19	On upper surface of stone lying near circle.	Outlier, and perhaps on west pillar.
Loanhead	12	On inside face of stone.	Stone next east pillar, none on recumbent stone.
Loanend	2	On top of recumbent stone.	Recumbent stone.
Braehead	4	On upper surface of supporting stone.	Stone beneath recumbent stone.
Pitglassie	8	On outside face of stone.	East pillar.
Toft hills	30	Also ancient incised cross on stone.	Indeterminate.
<i>Banffshire.</i>			
Thorax	25	On north-west standing-stone.	No recumbent stone in circle.
St Brandon's stones.	12	On inside of west pillar.	West pillar. Recumbent stone missing.
Rothiemay circle.	126	7 on standing-stone next to pillar, 12 on top, and 107 on inner surface of recumbent stone, several with rings.	Recumbent stone, and stone next east pillar. (Pillars non-existent.)
Harestanes, Feith-hill.	6	Plain cups.	West pillar.
CUP-MARKS ON STANDING-STONES UNCONNECTED WITH CIRCLES.			
Easter Sinna-hard.	1	Near middle of "The Lang Stane."	
Blacktop	38	Several ringed cups.	
Ringing Stone.	7	1 on east, 6 on west side.	
Johnstone.			
Mytice	32	16 on each side, several of dumb-bell shape.	
CUPS ON ROCKS AND BOULDERS.			
Loanhead, Daviot.	2	Rock near stone circle (<i>q.v.</i>).	
Glack	40	Dumb-bell, triangle, and cross-like forms.	
Avochie	80	Several with rings.	
Cuttlecraigs	15	On fragment beside farmhouse.	
Culsh	2	On walls of underground house.	

IV.

NOTE ON A CRESSET FOUND NEAR HAWICK. BY CAPTAIN ANGUS GRAHAM, F.S.A. SCOT.

I venture to draw the attention of the Society to the discovery of an interesting relic at Teviot Bank, 4 miles north-east of Hawick. The object in question is a block of stone roughly squared, and bearing on one face circular cups disposed like the pips of a five of hearts. The general shape of the stone and appearance of the cups may be estimated from the illustration (fig. 1).

As will be seen, the block is, unfortunately, not entire. It has been split in halves lengthways, one half has again been broken across, and one of the resulting quarters—which we may presume to have borne a fifth cup—has disappeared entirely. The existing pieces, however, can be fitted together with accuracy, so that fairly satisfactory measurements can be made.

The greatest length, along the fracture, is 15·3 inches, the greatest breadth, across the middle, 11·7 inches; the damaged edges are rather shorter, being 14·7 inches and 10·7 inches respectively. The larger fragment is 7·7 inches in breadth, and the smaller one 4 inches in breadth, respectively, at the broadest points. The depth of the block varies from 6 inches to 7 inches according to the irregularities of the under surface, which is much broken. The several faces of the block have been finished off with different degrees of care: that which bears the cups has been quite well squared and smoothed, though it has suffered hard usage; the two incomplete side-faces and the longer complete side-face are likewise well executed and are still fairly smooth; but the shorter complete side-face, being very rough and irregular, does not appear to have been nearly so carefully finished, and the corner at one end of it is not rectangular. The under surface has been so much split and broken that it is impossible to say whether or no the block originally stood on any kind of a base or pedestal.

The cups, as will be seen, are not quite uniform in shape or size; the central one is the largest and is approximately circular, being 4·5 inches in diameter and 2·1 inches deep. Of the remainder, that in the lower left-hand corner is also circular, being 3·8 inches in diameter and 1·6 inch deep; that in the upper right-hand corner measures 3·8 inches by 4·1 inches by 1·7 inch deep; and that in the lower right-hand corner measures 4 inches by 3·6 inches by 1·7 inch deep. (To follow this description the stone must be thought of as being so placed that the missing portion becomes the upper left-hand corner.) These cups appear to have been cut

and not ground into the stone, as the marks of a tool can be seen inside them. The capacity of the smallest was found to be the same as that of an ordinary tea-cup. There is also a small depression to the right of the central cup—1 inch across and 3 inch in depth—which may be the result of weathering, as a large flaking-away, below and to the right of it, certainly is.



Fig. 1. Cresset: found at Teviot Bank, Hawick.

This being a general description of the object in question, I should like to make one or two observations on its probable origin and use.

A preliminary guess as to its origin may be made with some confidence. The rock-garden in which it was discovered is largely composed of fragments of dressed and carved stone—the remains of window-sills, capitals of pillars, and ornamental mouldings. These fragments are known to have come from the old church of Hassendean,¹ which used to stand by

¹ Hassendean Church is described in *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Roxburghshire*, by Alexander Jeffrey, pp. 280 and 281. It is mentioned in a charter as early as 1180 A.D., and appears from an old print to have possessed rather a fine Norman doorway. It was washed away by a flood of the Teviot in 1796 A.D.

the side of the Teviot, not more than 300 yards away: they were collected many years ago, and until they were used to make the rock-garden they used to lie about in the farmyard. During this time the cupped stone lay about with them—it has always been broken and incomplete as far as is remembered. We are safe in assuming, therefore, that it came, with the other fragments, from Hassendean Church, and that it served some ecclesiastical purpose there in mediæval times. As regards its use, the only probable suggestion that has been made is that it was a lamp-stand of that primitive kind which is properly known as a “cresset.” These cressets—blocks of stone with cups worked into them—have been found in a certain number of ecclesiastical buildings in England and abroad, and are known to have been used for illumination. The whole subject is discussed by the Rev. T. Lees, M.A., in a paper read before the Royal Archæological Institute in 1882 (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix.), and notice of the discovery of another example is given in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, part xciv., of 1916. From these two sources I gather that ten examples are known in England and others in Sweden, and all are from ecclesiastical sites. The number of cups in the several cases varies from one to sixteen: the cups are disposed in various patterns; that most like the present example having been found at Furness Abbey. In all cases the cups are similar in size to those in the Hassendean stone, but some are different in having flat bottoms. In some cases the cups are discoloured by fire.

The Rev. T. Lees further makes two quotations from the *Rites of Durham* (published by the Surtees Society), which place the use of these cupped stones as lamps beyond the reach of doubt. One of these quotations tells us that “there was in the church a four-square stone, which had 12 cressets wrought in that stone, which was filled with tallow, and every night one of them was lighted, when the day was gone, and did burne to give light to the monkes at midnight when they came to mattens.” And the other says of the dorter—“In either end of the same Dortor there was a four-square stone, wherein was a dozen cressets wrought in either stone, being ever filled and supplied with the cooke as they needed, to give light to the monkes and novices when they rose to their mattens at midnight, and for their other necessary uses.”

I have ventured to discuss this stone at some length, as it appears to be the only example of the cresset that has been found in Scotland up till now. The only other possible example is an object from Jedburgh described in the *Proceedings*, vol. xxxix. p. 54. However, as the latter bears a row of small cups as well as a number of others that are of a suitable size for use as lamps, the surmise made by the author, that it

was a mould for casting bullets and cannon-balls. may perhaps be preferable.

It may be worth while to record here the fact that many fragments of carved stonework from the old church of Hassendean still exist here and there in the neighbourhood. Notably, part of a carved tombstone has been built into the garden wall at Minto Manse.

MONDAY, 11th March 1918.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD ABERCROMBY, LL.D., President.
in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, there was elected a Fellow :—

HUGH ALEXANDER FRASER, M.A., Mayfield, Dingwall.

There was exhibited through Dr Hay Fleming a cast-iron Crusie belonging to Mr D. Cargill of the Crosskeys Hotel, St Andrews (see subsequent note, p. 129).

Miss Christie of Cowden, F.S.A.Scot., exhibited a small oval Lamp of steatite, showing four diminutive cup-and-ring markings on the back, and another cast in metal, a mixture of zinc and antimony with a small addition of arsenic, both from Samarkand.

There was also exhibited by Dr W. G. Aitchison Robertson, F.S.A.Scot., a Crusie of cast iron, in the form of a circular basin, from the centre of which rises an iron pillar supporting a small cup-shaped vessel.

The following Donations were intimated, and thanks voted to the Donor :—

By Miss CHRISTIE of Cowden, F.S.A.Scot.

Three Church Tokens—Glendevon, 1817; and two of Muckhart, undated, but previous to 1800.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

FURTHER DISCOVERY OF THREE CELTIC CROSS-SLABS AT ST ANDREWS; AND NOTE ON A CRUSIE. BY D. HAY FLEMING, LL.D., F.S.A. SCOT.

That portion of St Andrews burying-ground which lies to the northward of St Rules Tower and Chapel and to the eastward of the east gable of the Cathedral has disgorged many Celtic cross-slabs at various times; and there, too, were found these three most recently discovered. The first of the three was dug up on the 26th of December 1916, and the other two on the 12th of March 1917. All the three were standing upright when found, and had been damaged, two of them very seriously, by previous grave-diggers, who cared naught for such things, but regarded them merely as obstacles to the necessary, and sometimes pressing, work on which they were engaged. As obstacles they were either smashed to pieces, or as much was broken off their tops as happened to be in the way.

Of the one found in December the upper part is gone. Looking at the obverse (fig. 1), it is 29 inches high at the left-hand corner and 4 inches less at the right-hand corner. In breadth it varies from 21 to 22 inches, and in thickness from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The unsculptured portion at the bottom is 17 inches in depth, which would give it a fairly good hold of the ground. The shaft of the cross is plain, and within the border lines is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. On either side of the shaft the panel has been filled with a spiral pattern: but the patterns are not quite the same, and the one panel is half an inch broader than the other, thus contrasting with the machine-like regularity of the work of modern monumental sculptors. On the reverse (fig. 2), the unsculptured portion is 22 inches in depth. The shaft of the cross is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad within the border lines, and on each side of the shaft there is part of a small panel filled with a zigzag or angular fret pattern. The left side of this slab is plain, but on the right side there are traces of what appears to have been a key pattern.

The March find included a large slab, which was lying east and west in a horizontal position at a depth of 3 feet 6 inches below the surface. This slab measures 5 feet by 22 inches by 5 inches. It was with great difficulty that Mr Mackie succeeded in getting it out whole; and it was very disappointing to find that it was rough-dressed, with no sign of sculpturing. But in the same grave there were two sculptured stones. The taller one was near the foot or east end of the grave, and the lower end of this slab was about 7 feet below the present surface of the ground.

Looking at the obverse (fig. 3), the slab is 4 feet high at the right-hand corner and 11 inches less at the left-hand corner. The breadth is about 21 inches, and the thickness varies from 5 to 6 inches. The shaft and arms of the cross have been plain. Within the border lines the shaft is only $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, and the remaining arm is barely as much. The



Fig. 1



Fig. 2.

Celtic Cross-Slab from St Andrews, found in December 1916.

pattern of the panel on each side of the shaft is very similar to that on the obverse of the slab found in December. On the reverse (fig. 4), the shaft and arms of the cross have also been plain, and are 3 inches in breadth within the border lines. On each side of the shaft there is a small panel with a zigzag pattern. The limbs of this cross are connected by a quadrant, and on the quadrant there is also a zigzag pattern. The sides of this slab are plain. The unsculptured base is 18 inches in depth on the obverse, and 22 inches on the reverse. This cross-slab and the one found in December appeared to be standing *in situ*.

The other slab found in March, though also standing upright, could hardly be in its original position, for it lacks both top and bottom. Only the central portion remains. It is 24 inches in height by 17 in breadth,

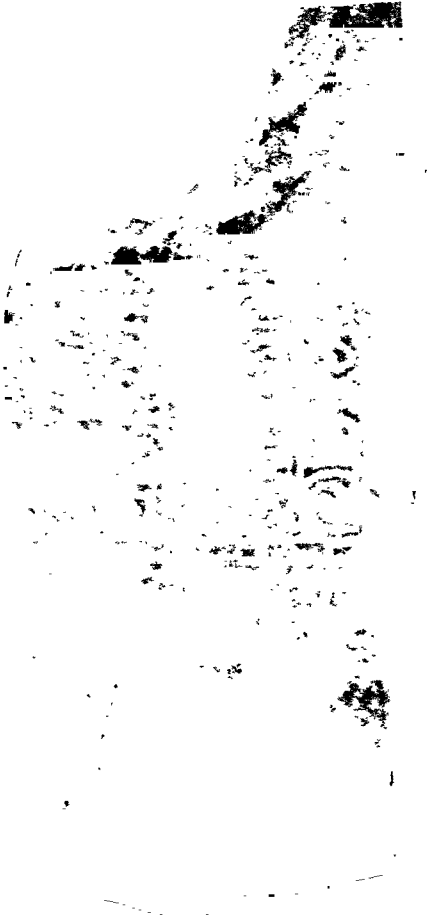


Fig. 3.

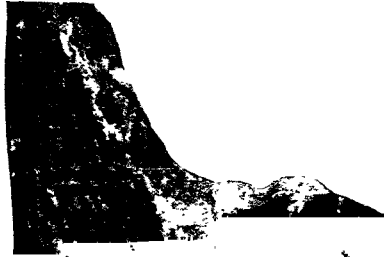


Fig. 4.

Celtic Cross-Slab from St Andrews, found in March 1917.

and is from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 in thickness. Of what remains, the whole surface of the obverse (fig. 5) is covered with sculpture, but very badly weathered. The shaft and arms of the cross have been filled in with interlaced or plaited work. The border lines of the shaft are barely discernible. The panels on either side of the shaft appear to have had a scroll or spiral pattern, and there have been double-square recesses at the intersection

of the arms. On the reverse (fig. 6) the cross has had a quadrant. Both cross and quadrant are plain. Within the border lines the shaft is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and the arms 5 inches. At the intersection of the arms there are recesses which are fully semicircles, and above and below the arms there are small decorated panels. Both sides of this slab are also sculptured, the one with a scroll or spiral pattern, and the other with what may have been a zigzag pattern. The illustrations of the slab found in December 1916 are from photos by Mr J. Wilson Paterson of H.M.

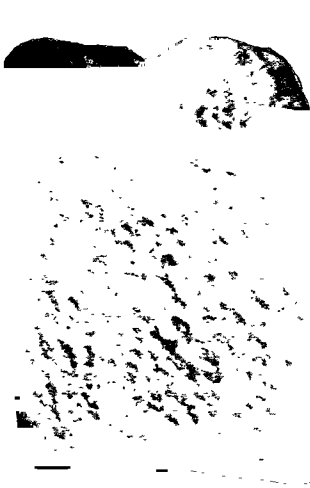


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

Celtic Cross-slab from St Andrews, found in March 1917.

Office of Works, and those of the slabs found in March 1917 are from photos by Professor Baldwin Brown.

It is only right to mention that Mr Mackie has now dug up no fewer than twenty Celtic slabs more or less complete, a record which is probably unexcelled, even unapproached, by any other person.

NOTE ON CRUSIE.

The crusie now exhibited, which belongs to Mr Cargill of the Crosskeys Hotel, St Andrews, was found at Ceres. With the exception of the handle, hinge, and lid, which are of malleable iron, the rest is of cast iron, and has been cast in a piece. The total weight is over 6 lbs. The extreme length of the under part or tray (not including the handle) is $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the extreme breadth is $5\frac{5}{16}$ inches, and the height to the top of the ring is $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Though massive in appearance the crusie is not ungraceful (fig. 7). The

advantage of a crusie having a lid was that tallow could be used when oil was scarce. A piece of burning peat was put on the top of the lid to melt the tallow. The parish of Ceres could at one time boast of three im-



Fig. 7. Crusie of Cast Iron from Ceres.

portant dwellings—Struthers Castle, Craighall, and Scotstarvit Tower. Possibly the crusie may have been made for one of them, and it may have been made locally. In the eighteenth century there was a small foundry about a mile to the west of St Andrews. The place, now a farm-steading, is still known as Little Carron. I am pretty confident that I have come across a reference to another small foundry at Craigrothie, in Ceres Parish.

II.

THREE FOOD-VESSEL URNS, A CUP-MARKED STONE, AND OTHER
OBJECTS DISCOVERED AT SHERIFFTON, NEAR PERTH. BY
J. GRAHAM CALLANDER, SECRETARY.

About the end of last year a group of prehistoric relics showing an unusual variety of types was brought to light on the Scone Palace estates, near Perth. During the winter months many trees growing singly and in clumps in cultivated fields were removed for the better cultivation of the land, and, as the ground occupied by them had to be ploughed, it was necessary to take out the roots, a process more easily accomplished by dragging down the trees with a steel hawser wound in by a traction engine, than by felling them in the usual fashion and digging out the roots. The operation of overthrowing the trees was facilitated by first digging a narrow, circular trench, about 2 feet deep, round the trees, some 8 feet from the trunk, and then cutting the spreading roots thus exposed. On 18th December last, Edward Suttie was engaged digging a trench round a large, single oak when he struck some vessels of clay with his mattock, breaking them into fragments. His opinion was that there were only two vessels, as the rounded cavities formed by the basal portion of two urns were clearly defined when the sand was removed. The shards were carefully laid aside, and afterwards were presented to the Perth Museum by the Earl of Mansfield, the proprietor of the ground. The day after they were received in the museum I examined the fragments of pottery, and found that pieces of the rims of three vessels could be identified without any difficulty.

On the last day of the year, Hogmanay, I accompanied several Perth gentlemen to the spot where the urns were turned up, and obtained particulars of the find from the discoverer. Our visit was particularly fortunate, as we were able to note a cup-marked stone, and secure the records of the exposure of a structure resembling a small grave, and a grooved stone, all of which had been laid bare in the immediate vicinity of the first discovery.

The sites of those finds lie near the middle of the Roman Camp of Grassy Walls, on the farm of Sheriffton, parish of Scone, about 3 miles north by west of Perth, and some 433 yards north-west of the nearest farm buildings (fig. 1). At the time of our visit three oak trees about 20 or 30 yards apart stood at this place ready to be overthrown. The urns and the cup-marked stone were found in the trench which had been dug round the most northerly tree, and the other relics were found beside

the tree on the south-east. The urns had been buried almost on the crest of a slight ridge which runs up through the fields in a gentle rise towards

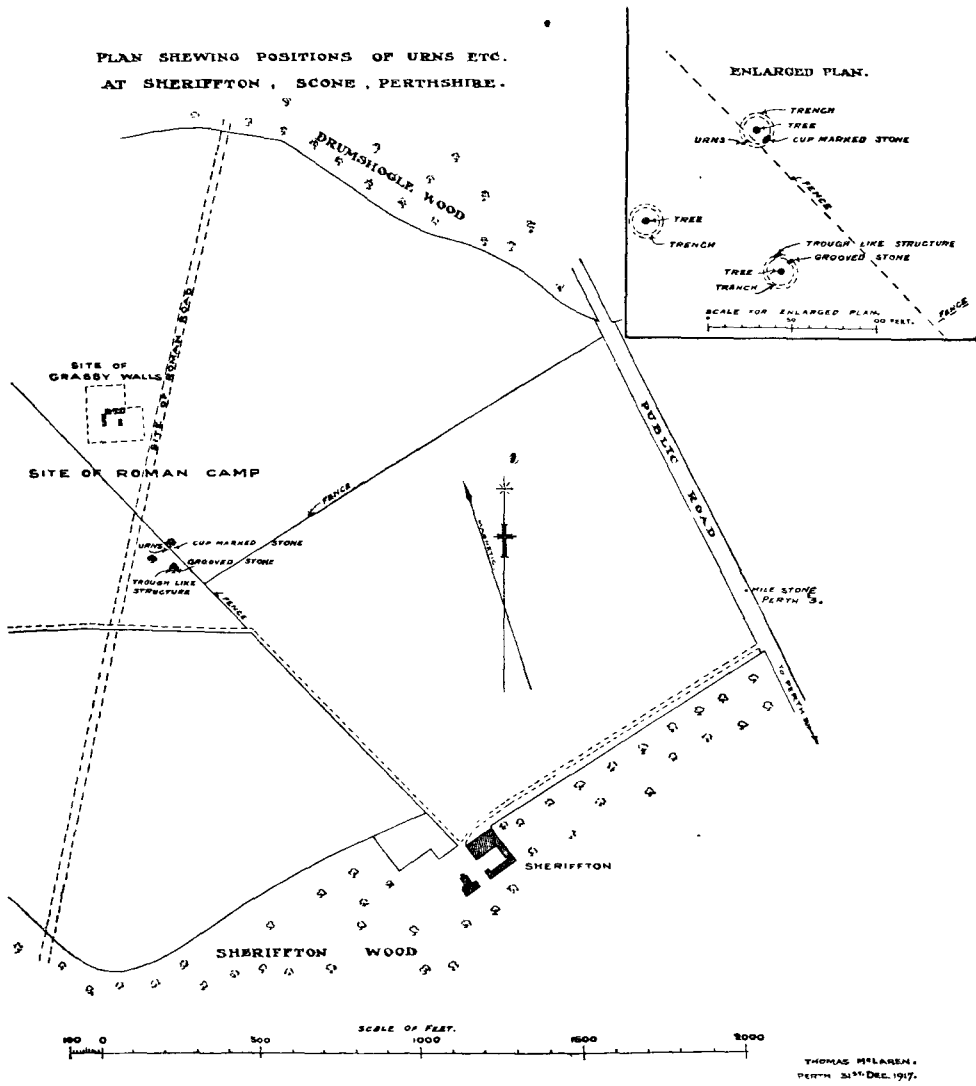


Fig. 1. Plan showing the positions of the discoveries at Sheriffston.

the northern boundary of the camp. While the ground to the east stretches away nearly flat, there is a sharp dip into a hollow running

down towards the Tay, at a distance of about 100 yards to the west. The soil consists of about a foot of good loam overlying fluviatile deposits of fine sand. The site of the "Roman Road" planned by General Roy,¹ and marked on the Ordnance Survey map, passes some 33 yards west of the spot where the urns were discovered, and the old steading of Grassy Walls, from which the camp took its name, and which was cleared away many years ago, stood about 200 yards to the north-north-west.

The Urns.—In digging the trench there was nothing to indicate the presence of the pottery except a darkening in the colour of the sand with which the vessels were surrounded, and this, no doubt, had been caused by some of the surface soil being thrown into the excavation when it was filled in. There was no cist or built structure of any sort, so apparently the urns had just been deposited close together in a hole dug in the ground, the bases of the vessels being placed some 2 feet 3 inches below the surface. They lay about 8 feet south-west of the tree, and, as indicated by the well-defined cavities formed by the lower parts of two of the urns, it was evident that they had been placed upright. These two vessels had stood almost touching, in a line running about north-east and south-west, and it is possible that the third had been placed near the southern end of the same line. It would seem that the mouths of two of them had each been covered with a small, flat stone, as two pieces of sandstone and grit, measuring $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 2 inches and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 7 inches by 2 inches, were brought up by the blow of the implement which exposed the pottery; it is also very probable that the third vessel had been similarly provided, as we found another flat piece of grit, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 7 inches by 2 inches, standing on its edge in the outer side of the trench on the same level as the pottery. The position of this stone may be taken as an indication that the third urn stood in line with the other two.

One of the urns looks as if it had been whole before it was struck with the mattock, but, after making allowance for some of the shards being smashed to powder, the appearance of the fractures on certain of the fragments of the other vessels is such as to imply that they had collapsed long before they were brought to light.

¹ Last summer I visited Grassy Walls several times for the purpose of trying to identify the track of this road from the crops growing on it, but without success, neither was I able to detect any indications of its course from differences in the soil. It may be mentioned, however, that the line of the eastern rampart of the camp, which has been entirely obliterated by the plough, was clearly marked for a considerable distance by a more luxuriant growth of corn. From similar investigations on the site of the Roman fort of Orrea, at Bertha, which lies on the opposite bank of the Tay, nearly 1 mile to the south, and also from certain surface indications, I think it is not unlikely that the surviving rampart planned by Roy as the northern boundary of the fort was really the southern rampart. Two broad low ridges on the north and west may mark the limits of the fort in these directions.

The three vessels, which are all of a reddish colour on the outside, belong to the food-vessel type of urn, and two, if not three, varieties of this class of pottery are represented.

The best preserved urn has been restored, and it belongs to a well-known sub-type (fig. 2). Its mouth is wide, its upper part nearly vertical, and its lower half tapers to a narrow base. Two raised mouldings or cordons encircle the vessel, one at the shoulder $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches below the lip, and the other midway between the rim and the shoulder. There are

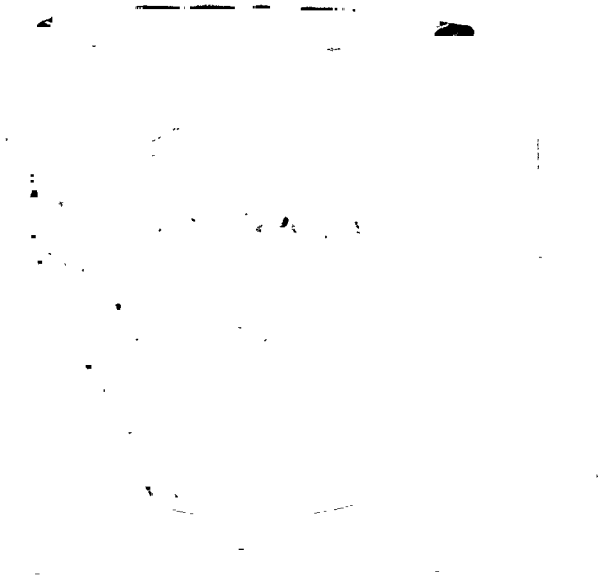


Fig. 2. Food-vessel Urn found at Sheriffton.

none of the small protuberances like incipient lugs round the shoulder which are often seen on food-vessels. Like so many vessels of its class, this urn shows a wealth of ornamentation on its exterior, which had been impressed on the clay before it was fired, and the same can be said about its two neighbours. In the broad, shallow groove between the lip and the upper moulding there is a row of rude chevrons with occasional vertical lines, formed by the impression of a thick, fibrous cord of two strands, and in the hollow between the mouldings there is a somewhat similar pattern. A row of triangular markings appears on the under side of the moulding just at the shoulder, and there are five transverse rows

of short, vertical lines drawn by a thin, sharp-pointed tool encircling the lower portion of the vessel. On the top of the brim, which is bevelled towards the interior, are radiating cord markings similar to those on the upper part of the wall. The urn measures $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in external diameter across the mouth, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the shoulder, and $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches at the base, and the thickness of the wall is about $\frac{7}{16}$ inch.

Probably less than half of the second vessel has been preserved, but, fortunately, there is enough left to give an indication of its form. It would seem to have been shaped very like the first, as there is one moulding about 1 inch below the lip, but it is impossible to say whether there had been another at the shoulder; the rim, however, has a more acute bevel towards the interior. The scheme of ornamentation is quite different from that on the first, as it consists of upright zigzags of three parts extending across the rim from its inner edge and down the outside as far as the moulding, the lines on the lip slanting from left to right. Below the moulding it is not unlikely that the markings were carried in straight lines, with breaks in them, obliquely to the right and nearly as far as the base; but this is a doubtful point, as I am unable to say whether all the remaining fragments of pottery belonged to this vessel or the third, or partly to both. The impressions, which have a breadth of about $\frac{3}{16}$ inch, at the first glance look as if they had been formed by pressing a twisted cord with the thumb against the clay, but the transverse markings do not cross the main line obliquely but at right angles, a design which might have been made either by a stamp or a thin cord wound round a core. The external diameter of the mouth seems to have been about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the wall is about $\frac{7}{16}$ inch thick.

Of the third urn, apparently rather more than the half of the wall has survived. The remnants display a vessel of quite different shape, because the profile of the upper two-thirds of the urn is curvilinear, and wants the angularity of the other two vessels, a shape accentuated by, if not resulting from, the presence of the mouldings which encircle them. While there is this difference in form, the ornamentation on this vessel, though arranged more simply, bears a strong resemblance to that seen on the second urn, in the individual marks which go to make up the design. The similarity of colouration has already been remarked upon. From these points of resemblance it may be taken that two forms of the food-vessel were made at the same time in this district. The discovery of different varieties of food-vessel urns in circumstances believed to indicate that they were contemporary has been commented on elsewhere.¹ A careful examination of the lip of the urn shows that though it now attenuates to a rather sharp rounded top, it originally had been

¹ Abercromby, *Bronze-Age Pottery*, vol. i. p. 103.

broad, like the usual brim seen in this class of ware, but the inner portion has scaled off in such a remarkably regular fashion as to convey an erroneous idea of its original shape. The ornamentation consists of parallel broken lines slanting from right to left, from the top of the brim to near the base. The only dimensions obtainable were the external diameter of the mouth and the thickness of the wall, and these are about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $\frac{7}{16}$ inch respectively.

A small quantity of incinerated bones was found adhering to some of the fragments of the pottery.

Cup-marked Stone.—After examining the place where the urns had been deposited we directed our attention to a large, flat stone which lay partially exposed in the trench some 8 feet east-south-east of the pottery, and to the south-east of the tree. It was of irregular oval shape, measured 5 feet 11 inches in length by 3 feet 6 inches in breadth by 1 foot in thickness, and had been covered by about 6 inches of soil. From its proximity to the urns, and its shape—a slab and not a boulder—we hoped it might prove to be the cover of a cist and had it raised, but no sepulchral remains were found under it. Still, near the centre of its length, and towards its north-western edge, there was a pocket of disturbed soil, extending about 1 foot 6 inches in length and breadth and 1 foot in depth, which was easily distinguished from the surrounding sand. It was impossible to say whether this disturbance had been caused by the hand of man or by rabbits, which find the roots of these trees very suitable places for burrowing. The stone was replaced and its upper surface cleared of soil, when four cup-marks and a peculiar, chiselled groove were exposed (fig. 3). The two cup-marks nearest the groove measure $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in depth, but the other two, which lie nearer the opposite side of slab, and are of about the same width, are very shallow, as the stone has worn considerably at this part. The groove crosses the slab near the widest part and then turns sharply along the edge in a slight curve, there being a heel-like projection at the angle. Where it crosses the stone it is about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide and of little depth, but after the turn it shows as a V-shaped channel, deeply cut in the sandstone, and measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in width and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in depth.

Grave-like Structure.—In digging the trench round the second tree, which stood about 70 feet south-south-east of the first, a trough-like structure, formed of small, flat pieces of sandstone set on edge, was encountered barely 1 foot below the surface. It lay obliquely across the trench to the north-west of the tree, the longer axis running north-east and south-west. There were no cover stones, and the southern end was open, but the stones forming these parts may have been removed during

farming operations. The structure measured 3 feet in length, 1 foot 3 inches in breadth, and about 1 foot in depth, and the largest stone utilised in forming the sides was no more than 1 foot square and 2 inches thick. Only one of the stones—and it was on the west side—remained in position at the time of our visit, but the others were seen lying at

CUP-MARKED STONE AT SHERIFFTON,

SCONE, PERTHSHIRE.

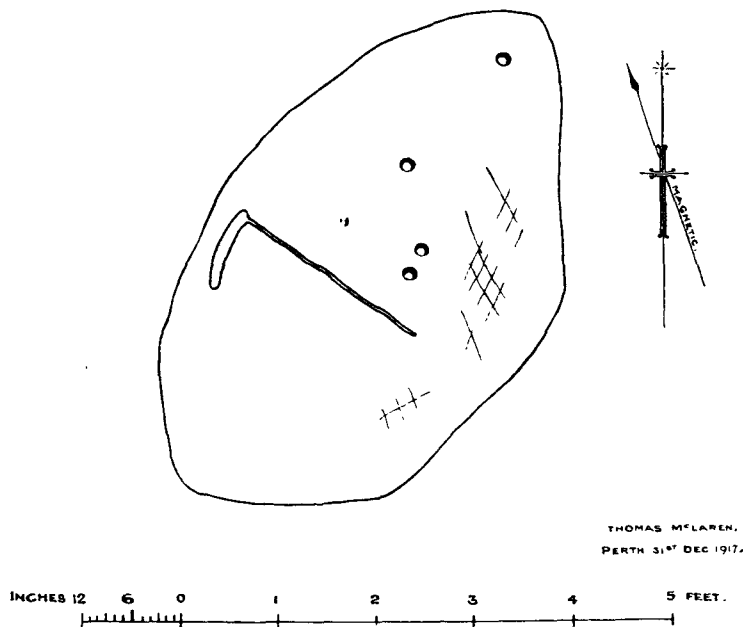


Fig. 3. Cup-marked Stone found at Sheriffton.

the side of the cutting. Nothing in the shape of bones, charred wood, or other relics was found in the structure.

Grooved Stone.—The last of the relics uncovered was a rude block of sandstone or grit of fairly regular length, breadth, and thickness, measuring 2 feet by 2 feet by 10 inches (fig. 4). The end which lay tilted up in the trench formed an oblique angle with the upper surface. Its position was some 8½ feet east of the last described structure, and to the north-east of the tree. The upper surface and oblique end were

scored with a number of grooves at irregular intervals of about 2 inches, running parallel to each other longitudinally along the upper surface, and transversely across the oblique end of the stone. These channels were crossed at right angles by a few shorter grooves of similar character. There is no doubt that these marks had been cut with a chisel, and were neither ice scratchings nor hollows cut by harrow tines.

Except on sites of ancient inhabitation, it is very seldom that the discovery of four ancient deposits falls to be noted within such a



Fig. 4. Grooved Stone found at Sheriffton.

restricted area in Scotland, especially in arable ground, and the variety of relics is no less remarkable. Further, each of the four occurrences exhibits unusual features, even though two of them, the urns and the cup-marked stone, belong to very common Bronze Age types of remains.

In Scotland, food-vessel urns are found usually in short cists associated with unburnt interments, and the recovery of calcined bones with this class of pottery is deserving of notice, as is also the presence of the flat stones which seem to have been used as lids for the vessels. In the great majority of the records of the discoveries of Bronze Age urns in Scotland no mention is made of the presence of stone covers. I have been able to record finds of twenty of these vessels, but this is the first time that I have had to note this occurrence. Furthermore, I know of only one other instance in Scotland in which three food-vessel urns were found

closely grouped together, and this was in a cist which was discovered at Duncra Hill, East Lothian, the urns found being now in our National Museum.¹ Dr Anderson described this discovery as a "most unusual, if not unique, experience."

With regard to the cup-marked stone, the groove sculptured on it differs from the usual duct or channel seen on this class of monument, in position, in length, and in character. as it is not directly connected with any of the cup-marks, is much longer, and at one part more deeply and widely carved.

The grave-like structure shows several peculiarities which should be noted. It contained no relics by which it might have been possible to determine its character and period; but although no trace of human remains were seen, this does not preclude the possibility that it may have been a grave, as the sand in which it was buried is said to have a strong disintegrating action on osseous remains. The building was quite different from that seen in the ordinary Bronze Age short cist, it was formed of much smaller stones, and the breadth and depth were much less than are displayed in these graves. It looked more like the stone-lined grave of a later period, intended to contain the body of a child placed in an extended position. Had it been orientated east and west we might have been justified in classifying it as a grave of the Christian period, but it lay north-east and south-west.

There is also much difficulty in classifying and dating the last of the four discoveries, the grooved stone. It may have been a block roughly dressed for quite a late building, but, as it was found within the bounds of a Roman Camp, the crossed grooves chiselled on the stone were at once suggestive of the rectangular tooling seen on stones dressed by Roman stone-cutters. Still, the block displays none of the regularity of outline, or of pattern cut on it, that we associate with these people. I can make no suggestion as to the date or purpose of the stone.

On the day of our visit Mr Henry Coates, F.S.A.Scot., Curator of the Perth Museum, took photographs of the various objects, and Mr Thomas M'Laren, Depute Burgh Surveyor, Perth, made plans of the site and of the cup-marked stone, and I am indebted to them for allowing these illustrations to be reproduced.

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. of Scotland*, vol. xxxiv. p. 131.

III.

THE PREHISTORIC AND EARLY USE OF PITCHSTONE AND OBSIDIAN.

By LUDOVIC M'LELLAN MANN, F.S.A. SCOT. WITH REPORT ON PETROLOGY BY A. SCOTT, M.A., D.SC.; AND NOTE OF EGYPTIAN AND ÆGEAN DISCOVERIES BY PROFESSOR W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, HON. MEM. S.A. SCOT., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

Natural volcanic glass has from paleolithic times to the early Iron Age attracted the attention of man in Europe. Modern primitive peoples in all the continents have also regarded it highly. It was used for various purposes, chiefly when split into pieces, for cutting and piercing. It varies in colour from a pale greenish-yellow to an olive and to a very dark brown or even black colour. It often contains bands of lighter-coloured glass or specks of white or light-yellowish felspar. Absent from England and Wales, it is recorded from one place in Ireland, and occurs sparingly in the west of Scotland.

The volcanic glass of Scotland and Ireland is called pitchstone, and the often more solid and homogeneous natural glass found in foreign places is known as obsidian. The pitchstone of Ireland and of Scotland, except that of the Island of Arran, is apparently too much cracked into small pieces to be of use. This natural glass has been much studied by geologists, but the ethnographer and archæologist have neglected it.

I do not know of any paper written on the early or prehistoric use of pitchstone or obsidian. Pitchstone is rare in Scotland, and the Island of Arran possesses most of the outcrops. One of the largest exposed sills there is on the shore beneath the precipitous cliffs of Dun Fion, a couple of miles south of Brodick, where masses of naked, vertical columns of dark shining glass arrest attention and constitute a most impressive picture.

Pitchstone, proceeding from eruptive centres, and now showing as intrusive sills and dykes, occurs in several scores of locations in Arran, where it is almost the last product of the Tertiary period, the grandest era of volcanic activity in these parts. The Arran *loci* have occasionally scattered about them, within a radius of several hundreds of yards, fragments of the rock in the glacial detritus or in the superficial washed-down material.

Blocks of pitchstone did not transport well by ice, and no naturally-carried fragments or boulders are known in the mainland of Scotland.

It would accordingly appear that prehistoric man in Scotland, at

least in the south and south-west, obtained his pitchstone entirely from one or other of the Arran outcrops or from the scattered fragments near them.

Though not utilising it in any manner, the modern natives of Arran know of it and call it "bottle-rock," and the children discover that it cuts their fingers. Pitchstone when splintered presents razor-like edges nearly as useful as those on flint flakes for scraping, cutting, boring, and piercing.

Like flint, it fractures easily into hollow conchoidal and corresponding bulbous pieces, and the edges were in prehistoric times often strengthened by careful and minute trimming, and can, as in the case of flint, be readily differentiated from edges abraded merely by wear; but it is more brittle than flint, and does not allow of the same delicate secondary workmanship as, for example, is entailed in the cutting out of barbs on arrow-heads. For this reason, perhaps, all the five known British arrow-heads of pitchstone (one from Wigtownshire and four from Arran), and nearly all the foreign arrow-heads of the kindred obsidian, are either leaf-shaped or kite-shaped. James Robertson in 1768 visited Bute and Arran,¹ and notes that near Kilbride, Arran, "there is an uncommon kind of rock" —most probably pitchstone is referred to—"with which the ancient inhabitants tipped their arrows, many of which even now the natives frequently find in the Island." I have an arrow-point of this substance from Wigtownshire,² here shown in fig. 1, No. 1.

A similar point was found a few years ago by Mrs Cook, in her garden at the steading of Whitehouse, Corriegills, Arran, who kindly permits of its being engraved (fig. 1, No. 2).

Another similar specimen, found in 1909 in peat-digging at Tormore, Arran, was presented by the late Mr J. A. Balfour, to the National Museum of Antiquities, and is here illustrated (fig. 1, No. 3). It is of black pitchstone.

Still another, but broken off at the tip, of olive-green coloured pitchstone, was found in the island. The relic was presented by Professor Thomas H. Bryce to the Scottish National Collection, and it is also illustrated (fig. 1, No. 4).

In the National Collection, presented by the finder, Mr Arch. Cook, is another arrow-point, more finely worked, of the same material but of olive-green colour, similar to that of fig. 1, No. 4. It was found on a field at Corriegills in 1907, and is figured here as fig. 1, No. 5.

Some of the Arran pitchstone breaks up naturally into hard, homo-

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1898, xxxii. pp. 13 and 18; *Book of Arran*, i. pp. 275 and 277; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1909, xliii. p. 376.

² *Glasgow Exhibition Prehist. Cat.*, p. 815, item 10, i.

geneous, finger-like cylindrical pieces, at times as long as 4 inches. I have several specimens which have been found at considerable distances from the outcrops. That the cylinders were anciently detected and carried by the natives far from the places of origin is almost certain.

I was told in 1917 of a small hoard of them having been discovered well down in a peat deposit at Tormore, Arran.

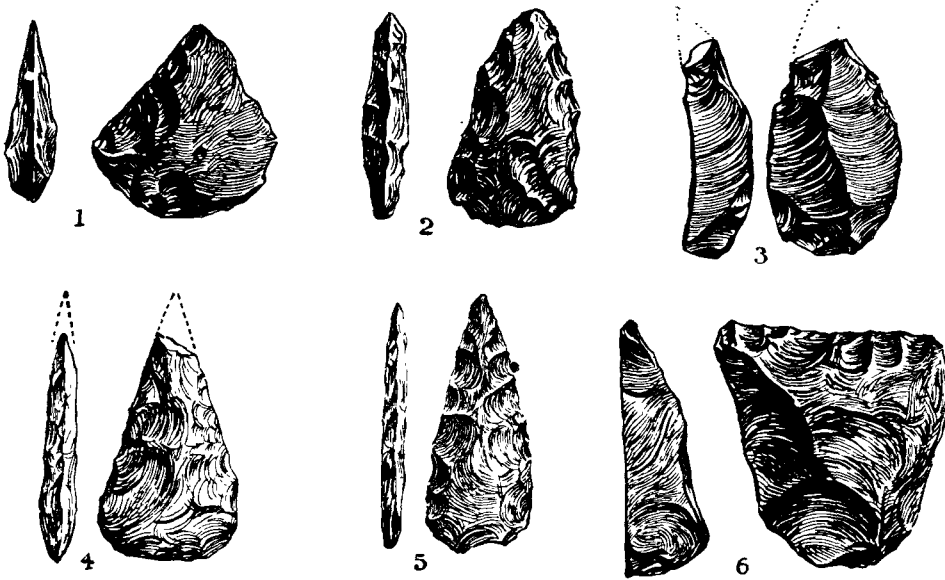


Fig. 1. Secondarily-worked Objects of West Scottish Pitchstone.

THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF PITCHSTONE A PECULIARLY WEST SCOTTISH PROBLEM.

Professor Thomas H. Bryce¹ obtained pitchstone flakes, some with slight secondary workmanship, in late neolithic tombs of Arran and Bute; and the late Mr J. A. Balfour² mentions the finding in Arran of arrow-points of this material. In Wigtownshire I have examined several domestic sites during the last eighteen years, which yielded abundantly pitchstone chippings (many minute and conchoidal), nuclei or cores, and implements in the closest association with neolithic pottery.³

In the sites of the immediately succeeding overlapping period the pitchstone relics were less common;⁴ while in the only British site

¹ *Book of Arran*, 1910, i. p. 89, and *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1903, xxxviii. p. 77, and 1909, xliii. p. 369.

² *Book of Arran*, i. 275.

³ *Glasgow Exhibition Prehist. Cat.*, 1911, p. 817, item 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 822, item 32.

definitely known to be of the Bronze Age which has yielded a pitchstone relic, that of a burial in the same county, a fine borer or side scraper (fig. 1, No. 6) of that material was discovered lying with a number of flint and other tools.¹

No worked pitchstone seems to have been recorded from Britain outside of Arran, Bute, Ayrshire, and Wigtownshire, and the only source of supply of the raw material seems to have been Arran. No prehistoric British or Irish pitchstone chippings or anciently-worked pieces are apparently to be found in English or Irish collections.

THE TIME-RANGE OF SCOTTISH PITCHSTONE IMPLEMENTS.

In the west of Scotland it was a favourite stone, traded and bartered as early as late neolithic times, also during the overlapping period (*circa* 2000 B.C. to 1800 B.C.); and between that overlapping time until the end of the succeeding Bronze Age (*circa* 1800 B.C. to 500 B.C.), when it almost disappears from the ken of the student of British prehistory, though flint implements continued to be made and used in great numbers throughout the last-mentioned period. Its only known occurrence in these islands during the early Iron Age is the unexpected discovery of two pieces among the very large number of relics recently found in the vitrified fort of Dunagoil, Bute, occupied a century or two before the opening of this era.² During the present era the material does not seem to have been used at all in this country.

The two artificially-worked specimens from Dunagoil are of dark olive colour. One, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, is a triangular, sharp-edged, sharp-pointed, shining lustrous flake, the surface of the broader end showing a treble faceting. The other piece has a much duller surface, is cylindrical, about 3 inches long and 1 inch thick, with columnar flaked surface, and slightly irregular banding of lighter colour. Neither shows felspar crystals and neither any secondary chipping.

A deposit of pitchstone was recently noted by Dr Smellie as occurring not far from Dunagoil, and in the extreme south-east of Bute, 400 yards north-west of Roinn Chumach;³ but the variety of the pitchstone there could not have been of use to the prehistoric craftsman, as it contains too many large quartz and felspar crystals, some $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length, which do not allow of its being splintered into suitable flakes.

After long exposure upon the surface, or near the surface if the soil be loamy, the rock devitrifies, losing colour, weight, and cohesion, and becomes soft, almost chalky, in texture, bleached, and non-lustrous.

¹ *Glasgow Exhibition Prehist. Cat.*, 1911, p. 838.

² *Trans. Buteshire Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1914-15, 1915-16.

³ *Trans. Geol. Soc. Glasgow*, vol. xv. pp. 121-139, 1915: *ibid.*, p. 368, 1916.

The condition of ancient chippings and implements is thus dependent upon environment.

During a most superficial examination of a supposed pitchstone workshop which I detected near Brodick schoolhouse, Arran, and situated upon an outcrop of pitchstone, many of the fragments were seen to be in this deteriorated condition. A few artificially-made splinters of pitchstone have been noticed on old inhabited surfaces on Shewalton Moor, near Irvine, Ayrshire, as first mentioned by Mr John Smith,¹ who was a pioneer of its microscopic scrutiny.

The late Bailie Downes, Irvine, found a few flakes and chippings of pitchstone on Shewalton Moor, and presented them to the M'Lean Museum, Greenock.

IRISH PREHISTORIC RELICS.

The Rev. G. R. Buick, M.A., of Cullybackey, Antrim, informed Mr George F. Black that "flakes and cores of obsidian" have been found in Ireland.² In response to an inquiry, Mr E. C. R. Armstrong of the National Museum, Dublin, consulted Professor Cole, F.R.S., Dublin, of the Geological Survey, who reports: "Obsidian occurs seven miles north of Antrim town, at Sandy Braes, but none so far as I have seen it, and I know it very well, is free enough from small cracks for making implements."

Mr W. J. Knowles, M.R.I.A., of Ballymena, writes to me: "I have found several flakes of pitchstone in the sandhills with flint flakes. This was on sites where scrapers and arrow-points were made. I have over two dozen arrow-heads made of jet-black rock which I believe is pitchstone. At a meeting of the British Association I showed the flakes above mentioned to Professor Hull and he called them pitchstone."

Some years ago I examined Mr Knowles' very fine and large collection of antiquities, but did not notice any objects of pitchstone.

Mr Knowles has now sent to Glasgow specimens of the implements of "black rock." They are of very dark flint and of dark Irish radiolarian chert, and very similar to the radiolarian chert implements (not yet recorded) found in Scotland in a belt of territory running from the Heads of Ayr to Dunbar, which were made from that chert which outcrops in long, narrow, boat-shaped formations within that belt. These outcrops lie with their long axes parallel to the line of trend of the belt.

It will be seen that there is no clear evidence as to pitchstone chippings or implements having yet been discovered in Ireland.

Future research work with the microscope will doubtless determine the provenance of all Scottish pitchstone relics, and elucidate the problems

¹ *Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire*, 1897, p. 116.

² *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1890, xxiv. p. 137.

touching very early trade routes and centres of barter with a precision not attainable from an examination of flint, a material the source of which is not so readily identifiable. This question is again touched upon at the end of this paper.

THE TRADE IN PITCHSTONE.

Its history, archæological and geological, is illuminating. A trade in it from Arran to the mainland and to Bute, can be distinctly made out, most active about the close of the neolithic period, dwindling gradually thereafter, and becoming extinct some 2000 years ago. It is at first sight difficult to explain why any prehistoric traffic in raw pitchstone of various qualities should have existed between Arran on the one side and Bute, Ayrshire, and Wigtownshire on the other, in which last two areas numerous pebbles of flint are to be found in certain raised and ordinary beach gravels, affording a more excellent material than pitchstone for the making of cutting implements.

That pitchstone was carried by man into Bute during Neolithic and early Iron Ages is certain. If the stone was not locally worked up into implements in Bute, it was so manipulated on the mainland, where the workshops of the neolithic period and the immediately succeeding overlap period yielded long fine flakes, testifying to greater expertness in manufacture there than is shown by the remains in the domestic sites yet awaiting adequate exploration in Arran.

The explanation may be that the Wigtownshire flint knappers, accustomed to handle an abundance of flint, were more proficient than in most other places, and that the pitchstone was brought to them as experts, because the material required even more skilful handling than flint, if it were to be turned to the best account. The less the homogeneity of the pitchstone or obsidian, the greater was the skill required to fashion it into the more complexly shaped objects.

The Maoris are said to have used obsidian to bore holes in jade; and in Scotland it may have been used in pecking out softer rock, as I found after baring the surface soil a rather thick piece of pitchstone lying in a crevice of the sculptured sandstone rock at Brodick, Arran.

Volcanic glasses of various grades have been much valued from early times. At Abydos, on the breast of the mummy of Zedher, of the XXXth dynasty, Professor Flinders Petrie found, forming part of a set of amulets made of various stones, such as limestone, porphyry, hæmatite, and steatite, six objects of obsidian, chiefly cut into animal forms.¹ Perhaps the finest relic of obsidian is a masterpiece of the XIIth dynasty, a head of Amenemmes III., in the collection of Rev. W. MacGregor, Tamworth.

¹ *Egyptian Explor. Fund. Publications*, 1902, 22nd Mem., pt. i. p. 38, and pl. lxxviii.
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It has been figured.¹ Pliny refers to *obsidianus* or *obsianus*, and the ancient Mediterranean people used the material for gem-making, obtaining it from Lipari. Some of the very early literary records as to the use of natural, shining, mineral, crystalline substances and of artificial glass are somewhat unreliable, as the ancient and classical terms were often applied indiscriminately. (In this connection may be noted references such as in Job xxviii. 17; *Herod.*, ii. 69, iii. 24; *Achilles Tatius*, ii. 3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xii. 19, 42, xxxvi. 26, 66.) In Turkey obsidian seems to be used for the teeth of the threshing sledge, though flint or quartz is preferred, a subject I have already referred to.²

At Mycenæ arrow-heads of it have been found; and on the Greek islands (as detailed later on in this note) and in Crete it was worked into implements. At Punta Trebina, Sardinia, is found an outcrop of obsidian, and chippings and arrow-heads of the material are found over the island.

A small knife of it was found in a lake-dwelling, apparently of the Stone Age, in Upper Austria,³ and flakes of it have been recorded from Italian lake-dwellings and from ancient pile-structures, perhaps of the Bronze Age, in the Po valley, Lombardy, and the Theiss Valley, Hungary. Obsidian flakes have been found in East Africa

The material was once used for implements in the Caucasus, in Teneriffe, Japan, the Admiralty Islands, and Easter Island. It was also similarly employed in both Americas, from California to the West Indies, and as far south as Tierra del Fuego. The methods of fabricating implements out of obsidian in Central America and Peru have been recorded by eye-witnesses.⁴ In Mexico it was known as "itztli," and quarried chiefly near Timapan. The ancient Mexican fashioned from it masks and mirrors as well as cutting tools. In British Honduras the direct association of two small obsidian knives with worked flints has been described.⁵ In Europe the association of a few flakes of obsidian with some thousands of flint implements and mammoth remains on a floor at Predmost, Moravia, tells that paleolithic man used obsidian.

ITS PETROLOGICAL ASPECT A GUIDE TO PLACE OF ORIGIN.

Mr A. Scott, M.A., D.Sc., Glasgow University, who has made a special study of the petrology of pitchstone, and is familiar with the Arran outcrops, kindly reports upon the Dunagoil specimens as follows:—

¹ *Journ. of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. iv. pts. i.-ii.

² *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1904, vol. xxxviii. pp. 506-519.

³ Keller, *Lake Dwellings*, 1866, 2nd English ed., 1878, ii. p. 621.

⁴ Evans, *Anc. Stone Implements*, 2nd ed., p. 23, quoted from Tylor, *Anahuac*, pp. 99 and 331, who translates from Hernandez and from Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, 1615, lib. xxvii. ch. i.; and corrected in *Comptes Rendus*, vol. lxvii. p. 1296.

⁵ *Annals of Arch. and Anthropol.*, Liverpool, vii., Nos. 1-2, p. 29.

"The larger specimen, which shows parallel banding megascopically, appears from its lustreless surface to be slightly weathered, but there is not much evidence of devitrification. A thin section shows occasional crystals of quartz, felspar, and augite set in a brown microlitic groundmass. The latter is obviously banded, the light-coloured layers consisting of numerous green hornblendic microlites set in a colourless glass, and while the darker bands contain sporadic microlites in an apparently brown glass, a close examination shows that this glass is really colourless, the colour being due to the presence of innumerable, very minute crystals.¹

"The smaller specimen has the same phenocrysts as the larger, but the alternate banding of the groundmass is much less obvious. The latter is generally colourless glass, containing numerous hornblende belonites with parallel orientation due to flow structure.

"Neither of the specimens shows any resemblance to the rock described by Dr Smellie from South Bute; nor are they like the Arran intrusions of Dun Fion, Monamore Glen, and the Corriegills district. The plumose and arborescent microlites which invariably characterise the latter are entirely absent, while the augite is not the same as the pyroxene of the Corriegills rocks. The phenocrysts resemble those of the Arran outcrops at Glen Shurig and Brodie's school, but the former of these is ruled out, as its microlites are pyroxene and not hornblende. The origin is probably to be found in the latter occurrence. The schoolhouse intrusion (often called the Invercloy pitchstone) can be traced for a considerable distance in the wood behind the schoolhouse. The rock varies considerably and, while the above description does not exactly coincide with that given by Harker,² the differences are to be explained by local variations in the intrusion. The phenocrysts, in both cases, agree with the schoolhouse rock, and both types of groundmass are approached in other specimens from that locality which I have examined.

"Hence, while the two specimens differ to some slight extent, there is every probability that they both came from the schoolhouse intrusion. They are certainly more like the rock of the latter than that of any other Arran occurrence. A comparison with thin sections of the pitchstones of the Inner Hebrides (Skye, Mull, Rum and Eigg) and Ardnamurchan shows that the specimens could not have been imported from any of these localities, as the microscopic characters do not agree with any which have been found there.

"Nor do these specimens show much resemblance to the so-called pitchstones of the mainland of Southern Scotland. The latter form a glassy

¹ Cf. Scott, *Trans. Geol. Soc. Glasgow*, vol. xv. p. 26.

² *Mem. Geol. Surv., Scotland, Geol. of N. Arran*, 1903, p. 123.

marginal facies of some of the great Tertiary north-west and south-east dykes, and in general have a microscopic appearance which is characteristic and differs considerably from the Arran and other West Scottish glasses."

It will be apparent from Dr Scott's report that close instrumental scrutiny of natural glass may open up new fields in prehistoric research work and lead to important far-reaching conclusions.

This possibility may be found to attach to work in the foreign as well as in the home field. The Ægean Sea and the Clyde estuary present a parallelism.

The volcanic island of Melos, measuring 14 miles east and west and 8 miles north and south, and situated at the south-west corner of the Greek Archipelago, between Greece and Crete, has long been marked as a source of early objects and a centre of primitive Ægean civilisation.

The great importance of this little island—less than one-half of the size of Arran—in prehistoric times may be accounted for by its possessing deposits of fine homogeneous obsidian, as at Konia, and at Klimatobouni where there was an ancient obsidian quarry. At Nychia, also on the island, implements of it have been found as well as at Phylakopi,¹ where traces have been detected of a prehistoric stronghold of three main periods containing, with pottery, some of it of peculiar character, abundant relics of obsidian.

The substance has not apparently been found naturally in or near Egyptian territory, but beads, amulets, and other objects made of it have been found in Egypt.

The rarity of Egyptian pre-dynastic obsidian relics may be gauged from their apparent absence in the large collection of objects recorded from the pre-dynastic cemetery of El Mahasna, near Abydos.² The rarity extends to the dynastic periods, but in the prehistoric or pre-dynastic cemetery of Naqada, Professor Flinders Petrie found thirteen beads of obsidian, each carefully fashioned into a disc, about the diameter and treble the thickness of a sixpence.

The discs are centrally perforated, the walls of the holes having a crushed aspect as if they had been ground out. The peripheries of the discs are neatly worked by minute secondary chipping. Under a lens the microlites become visible.

Professor Flinders Petrie has kindly compiled for this paper the following list of all references to obsidian from his excavations and collecting:—

A large block from Knossos overlooked by the excavators; rough

¹ *Journ. Hellenic Studies*, 1895-6, xvi. p. 353.

² *Egyptian Explor. Fund Publications*, 31st Mem., 1911.

blocks from Serabit (Sinai) and Koptos, and a larger one from Memphis; model vase of VIth dynasty (*Denderah*, pl. xxi.); comb of Mena period (*Royal Tombs*, II., xxxii. 10); five amulets, XXXth dynasty (*Abydos*, I., lxxviii. 0); pierced flake, grave 743 s.D. 60? (*Naqada*, p. 27); flakes, grave 1260, s.D. 34 (*Id.*, p. 45); tip of a *hache*, and flakes (*Id.*, p. 57); kohl-pot and stick, XIIth dynasty (*El Arabah*, p. 31); kohl-pot, now in Edinburgh, XVIIth? dynasty (*Qurneh*, p. 8); scarabs, nearly all XIIth dynasty, rare in XIXth dynasty (*Scarabs*, p. 8); many amulets, nearly all of XXVIth-XXXth dynasties (*Amulets*). And the following are at University College, London:—roughly chipped beads, pre-dynastic, from grave 499, Naqada, and from bead factory of Ist dynasty at Hierakonpolis; a model vase of VIth or XIIth dynasty; eyeball from bull's head?; eyeballs in eyes on mummy-cases of XIXth-XXXth dynasties; beard from a mummy-case; wig from a statue (part); large scarab (part), $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across; pieces of cups, middle of Ist dynasty; gold-standard weight of 207.6 grains of XVIIIth? dynasty. In the same museum is a flake from grave 185, Gerzeh, s.D. 43-70 (*Labyrinth*, p. 24). It was examined as to its source at South Kensington Mineralogical Department, and found to be most nearly like the obsidian from Samos.

It is tempting to conjecture that, like the neolithic sea-borne trade of Western Scotland, a pre-dynastic traffic was carried on between Melos and other Ægean islands and Egypt, perhaps by way of Crete.

Confirmation of this might be secured, as a first step, by the polariscopic comparison of a section of a Naqadan bead with those of specimens of the raw material from the various Melian deposits. I have obtained one of the beads from Professor Flinders Petrie and would propose making it serve for this purpose, but meantime, no raw specimens being obtainable, the investigation is cut short.

MONDAY, 8th April 1918.

The RIGHT HON. LORD ABERCROMBY, LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following were duly elected
Fellows:—

WILLIAM KINLOCH ALLAN, Erngath, 2 Wester Coates Avenue.
SIR JAMES M'KECHNIE, K.B.E., The Abbey House, Furness Abbey.
JAMES GRAHAME THOMSON, Aldersyde, Giffnock, Renfrewshire.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were intimated,
and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By JAMES S. RICHARDSON, F.S.A. Scot.

Small segment of a narrow Jet Armlet, giving a chord of 2 inches,
found on the summit of Wester Craiglockhart Hill, where a spiral bronze
armlet was dug up in 1916 (vol. li. p. 10).

(2) By T. J. WESTROPP, M.A., 115 Strand Road, Sandymount, Dublin,
the Author.

Collectanea: A Study in the Legends of the Connacht Coast. Part II.
"Mediæval and Later Events." From *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxviii., No. 4, 1917,
pp. 432-449. Pamphlet.

The following Communications were read:—

I.

GLASGOW CATHEDRAL IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, FROM AN ANCIENT SEAL: WITH SIDELIGHTS ON CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. BY REV. JAMES PRIMROSE, M.A., F.S.A. SCOT.

In historic research too little attention, generally speaking, has been devoted to seals as a source of information; yet here is a field awaiting exploration. As is frankly admitted, architects are uncertain as to the exterior appearance of Glasgow Cathedral in the latter half of the thirteenth century; that is to say, as to how much of the fabric had then been constructed.

Authorities on seals, however, tell us, that the art of seal-engraving was far advanced in Scotland in the thirteenth century, and that the seals of this period throw valuable sidelights on contemporary history. Among the early specimens of ecclesiastical seals those of Glasgow present features of great excellence,¹ especially those executed during the episcopate of Robert Wishart (1272-1316).

"The seals of capitular bodies," remarks Dr. Walter Birch,² "are among the most notable of Scottish seals, both for antiquity and importance." "In this class," he adds, "no conventionalism has been observed, a local tradition, a patron saint, an historical event suffice to mark the theme for the design on the seal." Here then is an arresting statement—"no conventionalism has been observed"; and this opinion has been endorsed by one who is, perhaps, our greatest living authority on Scottish seals, Mr W. Rae Macdonald.

In support of this contention that real and not conventional churches are represented on the earlier seals we have, it seems, examples in the following:—In a thirteenth-century chapter seal of St Andrews, in which St Rule's Church is clearly depicted; in a chapter seal of Dunfermline of 1200 or 1226; in a seal of Cambuskenneth Abbey of the thirteenth century; and in a seal of Holyrood Abbey of 1141.

If this be correct, the representations of churches engraved on thirteenth-century seals are not conventional but real—not necessarily accurate, however—of the churches as they stood. But further, this remark applies not only to the churches and their style of architecture, but to the costumes of the clergy, the altar furniture, and the symbols depicted.

¹ Glasgow is particularly rich in seals at this period. Would some French artificer in seals reside here?

² Dr Birch, *History of Scottish Seals*, vol. ii., "Ecclesiastical Seals," see pp. 143, 211, 197, 219.

Let us confine attention to the second chapter seal of Glasgow appended to a document *circa* 1280 A.D.,¹ that is, during the episcopate of Bishop Robert Wishart, who befriended Wallace and Bruce in the Great War of Scottish Independence.

This seal is round and not vesica or pointed oval in shape, as is more usual among ecclesiastical seals, and was in use, says Birch, from the latter part of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fifteenth century, and perhaps earlier and later than the dates mentioned.²

Being a chapter seal, it was affixed to all documents to give authentication to the resolutions agreed to by the chapter or majority thereof.³ It was thus most important, guarded with jealous care and kept secure under triple locks.

THE OVERSE SIDE.

On the obverse side of the seal is the representation of a church which contains some striking features. If this then be not a conventional but an actual church, we have a rough kind of picture of Glasgow Cathedral as it existed towards the latter half of the thirteenth century. Observe, there is a central belfry, a low stone base with a spire as at Pluscardine,



Fig. 1. Chapter Seal of Glasgow Cathedral, *circa* 1280 A.D. (Obverse side.)

but clearly differing in style from the massive tower and elegant spire of our day.

M'Ure tells us that in Bishop Glendoning's time (1387-1408) the steeple of the Cathedral church, which was built of wood and covered with lead, was burnt down with lightning.⁴ This then might be a representation of the steeple that was standing in 1280, but burnt down over a century later, and not the campanile or north-west tower as is frequently stated.⁵

¹ *Liber de Melros*, i. p. 290. The *Liber de Melros* was compiled from the Melrose charters in possession of the Earl of Morton.

² Laing's impression of the seal is good, but the cast in plaster is more accurate. Laing's *Catalogue of Scottish Seals*, i., Plate xxii., Nos. 1024-5.

³ This seal was appended to a convention between the master and brethren of Torphichen and Sir Reginald le Chene regarding the patronage of the Church of Ochiltre in the diocese of Glasgow. The cyrograph mentioned is an instrument divided into two parts.

⁴ *History of Glasgow*, edit. 1830, p. 17. Note the cross fleury surmounting the spire and a plain cross at either end of the roof.

⁵ MacGeorge, *Old Glasgow*, 3rd edit., p. 100.

After this, Bishop William Lauder (1409-1425), Glendoning's successor, whose arms are upon the perforated parapet, erected the tower we now see—the earliest example, it has been said, of the Scottish type of belfry. Then Bishop John Cameron (1426-1446) crowned the tower by the addition of the elegant octagonal spire, the design of which excited a powerful influence on later Scottish mediæval steeples.

THE SYMBOLS OVER THE ROOF.

Above the roof of the Cathedral to the right is represented a crescent moon between the horns of which there is a star. While we are familiar, in our day, with this conjoint emblem as emblematic of the Turkish Empire, it appears that a similar emblem has been found on Grecian coins struck about the year 200 B.C.

The ancient Greeks, to judge from their coins, seem to have associated the symbol of the crescent moon and the star with the goddess Aphrodite or Venus. This later, somehow, was revived by the Christian Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and regarded as an appropriate emblem of the Virgin and of John the Baptist: the crescent being symbolic of the Virgin, and the star of John the Baptist. King John of England, when he visited Ireland early in the thirteenth century, caused the emblems of the crescent moon and the star to be painted for decorative ornament on the walls of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.¹

Turn attention now to the left side: we see a radiant sun or star; and this is generally accepted as symbolic of Jesus Christ, the Sun of Righteousness.

THE LOWER COURSES.

Look now at the lower courses of the walls of the nave underneath the windows. This seems more than ordinarily conspicuous among the early seals. Is there any countenance given by this to the opinion of architects that the lower courses of the nave—the chancel having been already completed—were laid down all round by Bishop Bondington or one of his predecessors, and that subsequently, upon those courses, Bishop Robert Wishart proceeded to erect the nave and the two western towers?

THE INTERIOR.

Pass now to the lower portion of the obverse side of the seal. Here an interior is evidently open to view and designed to represent the celebration of the mass. There are three niches, under three Gothic

¹ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1879, series ii., vol. ii. p. 468.

arches in the style then in vogue. In the central niche observe an altar, or God's board, with a design somewhat like a chevron in front, or is the design wrought upon a frontal hanging? Does the form of this altar—the high box type—suggest a relic altar placed over the grave of St Kentigern in the lower Church?¹

Now, if we look narrowly at this altar, it would seem to have something like feet upon which to stand. If so, it would be a feretrum or portable altar. Now, we know that Edward I. when he visited Glasgow in August and September 1301 made offerings ad feretrum—at the feretory—of St Kentigern in the church of Glasgow Cathedral.² Here then, in all probability, in this seal of 1280, we are gazing on a picture of the shrine of St Kentigern in the Lower Church, before which the King of England knelt in adoration in 1301.

But again, standing upon this altar is the sacred chalice or mass cup, apparently richly carved. Observe, the cup is broad and rather shallow, while the knop and the base are circular, the prevailing design of a chalice of the thirteenth century.³

From above the chalice there issues a hand—the Divine right hand—pointing with the thumb and two forefingers to the cup, as if in the language of symbol it uttered the words of consecration, "This is my blood." This hand of the Invisible was sometimes represented on seals with rays of light emanating therefrom, symbolising the irradiation of the Holy Spirit. Owing to the diminutive scale of representation on a seal, we do not see the cross engraved on the pedestal of the chalice, which, being the sign of consecration, must not be wanting in any mass chalice.

In the niche to the right of the central one is the full-length figure of a priest reading at the lectern from which the Gospel was read. As a rule, the simple desk was the earlier form of lectern belonging to the thirteenth century; it was not till the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the "eagle" lectern came into vogue.⁴

In the left niche, again, there is a priest with hands uplifted in adoration of the sacrament. These figures, be it noted, show the style of priestly vestments worn in Scotland in the thirteenth century. This interior, as has been pointed out, bears a striking resemblance to that depicted on a seal of Dunfermline Abbey of 1200 or 1226.⁵

Now, some might object to the church on this seal being regarded as

¹ Lubtke's *Ecclesiastical Art in Germany* (Middle Ages), p. 129, translated by Wheatley, 1876.

² *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, vol. ii. p. 621.

³ *Catholic Ency.*, art. "Chalice." The shape of the chalice varied according to the fashion of the times.

⁴ *English Church Furniture*, Cox and Harvey, p. 78.

⁵ Birch, *Scott. Seats*, Eccles., vol. ii. pp. 86, 211.

an actual, albeit somewhat inaccurate, representation of Glasgow Cathedral in 1280, for various reasons. The clerestory windows, for example, are deficient in number, only a fourth of the whole. Again, there are no aisles and apparently no transepts. In short, it may be said there is, after all, little resemblance to Glasgow Cathedral. Here then is a problem for the architects, and one that may not be lightly dismissed. Perhaps few of our Scottish cathedrals have experienced more rebuilding than Glasgow; hence the proverb, "Like St Mungo's wark, it was never finished."

How account for the omission of the aisles? Were they still unbuilt in 1280?¹ Or did the engraver not wish to unduly elongate the elevation of the church on the seal, with the limited space at his disposal, and so purposely omit them? How account for the lack of transepts? It appears that architects are not quite decided as to whether the transepts we now see were erected towards the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. At any rate, the transepts of Glasgow are unusually short and by no means conspicuous.

Again, how account for the small number of clerestory windows? Whatever explanation be offered, it is well to bear in mind the restrictions of space necessary in a seal, and also what an authority like Blunt remarks, that seals were often engraved from memory, so that one can only expect a rough representation and not strict accuracy of detail.

Some who may be dissatisfied with the above explanation might say the representation on this chapter seal is not that of the Cathedral itself, but rather that of the shrine of St Kentigern, that stood in the Lower Church.² To this we reply, that shrines were sometimes actual models of churches.³ Besides, the shrine of St Kentigern was described in the year 1301 as a feretrum or portable shrine⁴—one, in all probability, that would stand on feet, as is clearly visible in the thirteenth-century chapter seal of Dunkeld.⁵ At any rate, there is nothing about the representation of the church on this seal that suggests a shrine or a feretory,—whatever evidence there be, points to its being the Cathedral itself.

THE REVERSE SIDE.

Turn attention now to the reverse side of the seal. Here is a half-length figure of St Kentigern, face bearded, wearing mitre and vestments,

¹ P. Macgregor Chalmers, *Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 26.

² P. Macgregor Chalmers, *Shrines of St Margaret and St Kentigern*.

³ Art. "Seals," *Ency. Brit.*

⁴ *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, vol. ii. p. 621; and Joseph Bain's *The Edwards in Scotland*, p. 35.

⁵ Birch, *Scott. Seals, Eccles.*, plate 73.

his right hand upraised, with thumb and forefinger bestowing benediction, his crozier slightly ornamented and turned outwards.¹

Ostensibly in all the Glasgow pre-Reformation seals the chief figure is that of St Kentigern, the patron saint of the city, in his pontificals. A study of the faces on the various seals, however, reveals that they are the faces of different persons and not invariably one and the same. Why this? The reasonable explanation seems to be that the faces are those of the different prelates whose seals they are. As is well known, on the death

of a prelate his seal was solemnly broken in presence of the chapter and a new matrix designed for his successor, while the seal of the new bishop was made the occasion for an interesting ceremony. Besides, coins, medals, medallions usually bore the likeness of the sovereign or the distinguished individual in whose honour they were struck. Why not seals? The probability, which is suggested with some diffidence, is that the face on this seal is meant to portray the face of Robert Wishart, the bishop during whose rule it was designed.

Unfortunately the plaster cast of this seal does not bring out the features with the distinctness exhibited in Laing's impression. It

would seem as if the matrix gave a somewhat blurred likeness, and that Laing accordingly was forced to copy the features from a later seal of Bishop Wishart's.²

Turn attention now to the mitre. Originally this was a simple linen cap, as we see in the seal of Bishop Jocelyn; then it became two-lobed, a kind of crown cleft in the middle, as in the seals of Bishops Walter and William. Then it passed during Bishop Wishart's long episcopate from the two-lobed shape to that of the peak in front, such as now obtains;³ so

¹ There seems to be no difference in the significance whether the crozier was turned outwards or inwards, other than what suited the seal-maker's convenience. The crozier here is a simple pastoral staff, only beginning to be ornamented—characteristic of the thirteenth century.

² For the seals of Glasgow, see *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, vol. ii. p. xxxiv, etc., plate i. fig. 6, plate ii. fig. 1, plate iii. fig. 1, plate v. fig. 2.

³ If we study the seals in chronological order, we observe the evolution of the crozier, mitre, chalice, etc. (art. "Mitre," *Catholic Ency.*, and *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, vol. ii. p. xxxiv, etc.).



Fig. 2. Chapter Seal of Glasgow Cathedral, circa 1280 A.D. (Reverse side.)

that the shape of the mitre here is that which came into vogue in the later thirteenth century.

With reference to the vestments, if they be those of the bishop to whom the seal belongs, they are likely to be correct; but if they are supposed to represent those worn by St Kentigern, they are incorrect and misleading. We are not left to conjecture as to how the saint was attired. Jocelyn of Furness, his biographer, expressly informs us that St Kentigern used the roughest haircloth next to his skin, then a goat-skin coat, then a cowl like a fisherman's bound on him, above which, clothed in a white alb, he always wore a stole over his shoulders. His crozier was not ornamented, only of simple wood and merely bent, while he held in his hand his manual book.¹

Archbishop Blackadder, who regarded St Kentigern with great veneration, followed Jocelyn's description in the main, as we find upon a seal of his of 1500 A.D. Here St Kentigern is habited as a monk, with a cowl on his head surrounded by a nimbus, while underneath the outer garment at the neck is seen the ciliciæ or hair shirt, and in his hands a manual.²

It would be well if the representation of the City Arms of Glasgow, granted by a patent from the Lyon Office in 1866, were rectified in this respect: true, they might not appear quite so picturesque, but they would be historically accurate. While heraldic art is usually conventional rather than realistic, as Sir James Balfour Paul observes, nevertheless the Glasgow Arms are peculiar, inasmuch as they are emblematic of the history and legends associated with St Mungo and the city.³

If now we examine the lower half of the reverse side, underneath three rounded arches—a distinctively Scottish feature of the Gothic—we observe three figures of clerics, one in each niche, with uplifted hands and kneeling, making intercession to the patron saint, as the inscription in Latin on the outer of the two circles round the edge of the seal informs us, "O Kentigern, benign father, bless thy servants."

THE WESTERN TOWERS.

Observe the spires over the first and third arches. This appears to be a representation of the western towers of the Cathedral as existing or designed when the seal was made.

It seems from an examination of the early seals that it was not an uncommon practice thus to represent the western front. It is found in a twelfth-century chapter seal of Battle Abbey, in a thirteenth-century

¹ *Historians of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 57.

² Archbishop James Beaton I. has a similar design of St Kentigern upon his seal.

³ MacGeorge, *Armorial Bearings of the City of Glasgow*.

chapter seal of St Paul's, London, and in a fourteenth-century chapter seal of Lichfield.¹

Nor was Glasgow alone in Scotland in the possession of western towers, for the same feature was exhibited in the churches of Elgin, Aberdeen, Brechin, and Paisley. These western towers of Glasgow were termed respectively the north-west and the south-west towers. The north-west tower was also known as the Campanile or Steeple, while the south-west tower was known as the Treasury. The latter contained the Consistory House on the ground-floor and the Library House on the upper storey. Both of these towers seem to have had a chequered career, and passed through several vicissitudes till their most unfortunate demolition in 1846-48.

If this seal give the appearance of the western towers as originally designed, there must have been subsequent alterations. In 1277, Bishop Wishart procured from the Lord of Luss a grant of timber for the building of a campanile and a treasury for the cathedral.² Yet in 1291 the bishop is represented as begging from King Edward I. a supply of timber for building a "clocher"—evidently the campanile—showing that he had not enough of material on hand to finish it. Then the Great War of Independence took place and stopped further building operations for a considerable period.³

The next mention of the campanile—termed the "steeple"—occurs in 1524, when the castle and the kirk steeple, which had been fortified, were besieged by the great guns of Regent Arran; after which, doubtless, it would be more or less damaged.⁴

From the style of these western towers in the earliest pictures taken when they were still standing, architects consider it apparent that additions and alterations were subsequently made from time to time.⁵

To sum up the information gleaned from this chapter seal of 1280, it may be said from the style of the architecture depicted, from the designs of the altar, chalice, mitre, crozier, and lectern, that the whole atmosphere is undoubtedly that of the thirteenth century. And since these are all real and not merely conventional representations, it is difficult from this and other considerations to resist the conclusion that the church represented is a rude, diminutive sketch of the Cathedral, and that the face—ostensibly that of St Kentigern—is more probably a likeness of the bishop who ruled the diocese at the time—Robert Wishart, the warrior bishop, who warmly supported Wallace and Bruce, and whose besetting sin was patriotism, during the Great War of Scottish Independence.

¹ J. H. Blunt, *English Seals*, pp. 206-8.

² *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*, No. 229.

³ Palgrave, *Documents and Records, History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 346-7; *Medieval Glasgow*, by Primrose, pp. 38-40.

⁴ *Medieval Glasgow*, p. 196.

⁵ Eyre Todd's *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 275; Macgregor Chalmers, *Glasgow Cathedral*.

II.

THE INCIDENCE OF SAINTS' NAMES IN RELATION TO SCOTTISH FAIRS. BY SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, C.V.O., LL.D., F.S.A. SCOT.

The subject of Scottish Fairs in general has not received much attention from the student of past-time institutions, and the following notes, which do not pretend to be exhaustive even in regard to the special subject with which they deal, may perhaps incite someone better qualified than I am to go into the matter more thoroughly. Fortunately, we have a very valuable foundation on which to build. Some time before 1888, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the subject of market rights and tolls within the United Kingdom, and the Commissioners during the ensuing years published a series of volumes dealing with the minutes of evidence taken before them, statistics regarding the various markets and fairs, and their reports thereon. These bluebooks extend to fourteen large folio volumes: in vol. vii., issued in 1890, there is an appendix by Sir James Marwick, then Town Clerk of Glasgow, containing a list of the markets and fairs now and formerly held in Scotland, with notes as to the charters, Acts of Parliament, and other documents by which the right to hold them has been conferred. In the case of the more modern fairs, and even in some of older date, no saint's day is mentioned, the date being merely given as the second Tuesday in August or some such day. Altogether nearly 900 places are mentioned in which fairs are or were held, and of the latter some 311 are specified to have been held on the anniversary day of some particular saint. It is with the object of not letting this interesting collection of information, which it must have cost a great deal of labour to compile, be lost sight of, that this little paper has been prepared. Prefixed to the list is a learned introduction in which Sir James Marwick traces the rise and progress of fairs from the earliest times down to the present: it extends to ten folio pages in double columns.

For the present purpose it is only necessary to glance very briefly at the historical portion of the subject. Fairs have been held since times of immemorial antiquity: their origin, like that of most other institutions, is to be found in the East; but all over the world, both in civilised and savage states, the holding of fairs was a distinguishing feature in the social life of the people. They sprang up quite naturally, because wherever large numbers of persons were drawn together at fixed times for purposes of business, or religion, or pleasure, an inducement was offered to the merchant and pedlar to supply the wants of the assembled

multitude. Some of these Eastern fairs still exist; that at Hurdwar in India, on the upper course of the Ganges, is attended by from 200,000 to 300,000 persons annually, and large quantities of merchandise and immense numbers of cattle, horses, sheep, and camels are sold at it.

Passing over foreign countries and coming to England, there is little doubt that fairs of some sort existed in Saxon times, but it was only after the Norman Conquest that they began to be an important feature in the national life. The right to establish markets and fairs was one of the royal prerogatives, and fairs existing by prescription were presumed to have been so established. It was granted largely to religious houses, but often also to feudal lords and towns. The grantee of the privilege of holding a fair was usually authorised to exact: (1) tolls or reasonable charges on the sale of articles sold, or exposed for sale, in the fair; (2) stallage or payment for liberty to erect stalls; (3) package or payment to the owner of the soil for leave to break it up for the erection of booths or stalls. There was attached to the fair a court of "piepowder" or dusty feet, which administered justice in the case of disputes between buyer and seller, and generally kept order in the fair. The lord of the fair was bound to provide a pillory or other means of correction for the punishment of offenders. As time went on, fairs grew greatly in importance, and in 1792 it was calculated that about 3760 fairs were held in upwards of 1700 places in England. After this they rapidly decreased, and in 1888 fairs were held only in about 860 places.

In Scotland fairs existed from a very early period. We find William the Lion granting to Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow, some time between 1189 and 1198, the right to hold a yearly fair to last eight days from the octaves of the Apostles Peter and Paul (6th July). This is, I suppose, the origin of the Glasgow Fair, which still flourishes, or at least forms an excuse for a week's holiday at that period of the year. And Alexander III., on 2nd December 1273, granted to Aberdeen the right of holding an annual fair for fourteen days from the Feast of the Holy Trinity. The laws regarding the holding of fairs in Scotland were very much the same in Scotland as in England, and occasionally we find evidence of some French influence in addition. As time went on, fairs grew and multiplied till even the most out-of-the-way village places, the names of which are now quite unknown to the traveller in Scotland, could boast of their annual fair, on however small a scale it might be held, and at one time there must have been about 1000 fairs held throughout the country. But gradually other influences made themselves felt. After the middle of the eighteenth century, Scottish roads began to be very much improved and people could get about much more easily; and with the advent of railways a hundred years later, it may be said that

the high days of fairs were over. Besides, as manners and customs grew more civilised, the clergy set their faces against them, and there are many complaints in the pages of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* of the bad influence that such celebrations had on the morals of the people. The buying and selling of cattle still continued for a time to keep certain fairs on their legs, but the institution by the leading cattle-dealers in the country of auction marts at the various railway centres brought this, too, to a vanishing point. It is well within the memory of many people still living that the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh used to go in state to open the Hallow Fair, which was held in the outskirts of the city, and which was in existence certainly before 1447. I do not suppose they do it now, nor do I suppose the fair itself exists. It was going very strong in Robert Fergusson's day, who celebrates it in a poem:

"Near Edinbrough a fair there hads,
I wat there's nane whase name is,
For strappin' dames and sturdy lads,
And cap and stoup, mair famous
Than it that day."

But, perhaps more than all the above causes, a piece of legislative action in 1846 sounded the death-knell of all fairs. This was the abolition of the exclusive privileges formerly enjoyed by freemen of burghs and members of the Merchant Guild. These had formerly the exclusive right of trading in their respective towns, and it was only on fair days that this right was in abeyance. But this privilege being abolished by the Act of Parliament of that year, fairs became practically valueless, and the right of holding them fell gradually into disuse and disappeared after having served its day.

The early fairs were so much associated with the celebrations of the Church, that it is not surprising to find most of them fixed with reference to the festival day of some particular saint. A parish generally held holiday on the anniversary of the saint to whom its church was dedicated. Special services would be held, and more than the usual average of parishioners would attend these. This would lead also to the attendance of travelling merchants taking the opportunity of the concourse to sell their wares and supply the domestic wants of the people. But we must not push this too far. Fairs were often held on the festival days of saints who apparently had no connection with the locality. Thus we should have expected Aberdeen would have had a St Nicholas fair at an early period, but it was not till 1590 that it was established, the previous fairs being held on the feasts of the Holy Trinity and of St Michael of Monte Tumba. Perhaps this may be explained by the fact that St Nicholas Day falls on 6th December, in the very middle of winter,

and it is obvious that winter saints are at a disadvantage as regards the celebration of the festivals by a fair. But on the other hand, Edinburgh never had a St Giles fair, as might have been expected, though that saint's day falls on the first of September. But this again was just at the time when the crops would be in process of being gathered in and people would be too busy to attend a fair.

Let us see, however, how the saints stand in relation to the fairs in Scotland. I have noted from Sir James Marwick's list and other sources about 317 fairs called after 102 saints; but this does not mean 317 different places, or even 102 different saints, for some towns had four or even more fairs in the year, and several saints were held in honour on more than one day: the Blessed Virgin being commemorated on no less than five of her festivals. She is indeed the most popular of the holy personages who gave their names to fairs, as thirty-one such gatherings in Scotland were held on one or other of her days. Five of these fairs were held on the day of the Annunciation, 25th March—a convenient enough spring fixture; two were held on the Feast of the Assumption, 15th August; and no less than thirteen on her natal day, on 8th September: the Purification, or Candlemas, however, being a winter feast (2nd February), was only honoured in two or three places, Kinloss and Moulin (and possibly Banff): and the Conception, a still more wintry fair, falling as it did in December, in only one.

Next in popularity as a patron saint of fairs comes St Michael the Archangel, who stands with twenty-seven to his credit. His day, no doubt, fell at a convenient season; on the 29th September the harvest might be considered to be at an end, and generally it was a season of rest and refreshment after toil; so it is not surprising that all over the country from Thurso to Kirkcudbright and from St Andrews to Campbeltown fairs were held on his day. But what is surprising is that in a place where there was a special dedication in his honour, such as Linlithgow, no fair should have been held on St Michael's day. In the seventeenth century the burgh had no less than six fairs in the year, the principal one commemorating St Mary Magdalene, but there was none in honour of the Archangel.

Next to St Michael in point of popularity as a patron of fairs comes St Peter, who is responsible for the name of twenty-five fairs. These, however, were not all on one day: he is commemorated as a prisoner in chains (St Peter ad Vincula) in eleven cases, which is not surprising seeing that this festival fell at Lammastide on the 1st August; either in his own apostolic person or in conjunction with St Paul he gave his name to fourteen fairs, all of which were held on or about 29th June. Part of this popularity may be ascribed to the high position which he held in the

hagiology of the Roman Church, but much of it, I have no doubt, may be put down to a more natural source—the genial season of the year at which both functions were held.

It is curious to find that only eleven fairs of the number under discussion derived their name from the patron saint of Scotland, and still more curious that in only one place, Kirkintilloch, can the holding of such a fair be traced previous to 1600. In earlier times the cult of St Andrew does not seem to have been in great vogue, and local saints were, for reasons not difficult to imagine, much more popular in country parishes than St Andrew. Even in his own cathedral city the first notice of a fair called after him is only in 1614.

St James shares with St Andrew the honour of naming eleven fairs, but he had the advantage of having his festival day at a better season of the year, 25th July instead of 30th November.

All the above-mentioned saints have been scriptural ones; the next in order of popularity is not mentioned in Holy Writ, St Laurence. Why this Spanish saint should have been so popular in Scotland is difficult to understand. Dedications to him have been traced to nearly forty hospitals, churches, and chapels throughout the country. His day was 15th July, and it was commemorated by fairs in ten places: the principal being those at Dunblane (though he does not seem to have been the patron saint of the see) and at Edzell, where for many years there was a curious quadrangular bell called St Laurence's Bell.

St Martin specifically gave his name to nine fairs, but his day (15th November) being one of the half-yearly "term days" in Scotland, many other places had a holiday and fair on that date though they were not specially associated with his name.

The birth of St John the Baptist was celebrated by the Church on 24th June, and we have the record of eight fairs being held on that day; one of them, at Linlithgow, seems to have come down from the days of Robert II. His beheading, the anniversary of which was held on 29th August, was kept in remembrance in two places only: Perth, of which town he was the patron saint; and Lauder—the latter fair being, however, a comparatively modern institution dating from 1670.

St Luke, the beloved physician, is responsible for the naming of seven fairs held on his day, 18th October, of which the most ancient was that held at Aberdeen, which is mentioned in a charter of 1489.

St Maelrubha was, in the matter of fairs, the most popular Celtic saint in Scotland. Coming from Ireland as a young man, he spent most of his life as a missionary priest in Ross-shire. Six fairs are known to have been named after him, mostly in the north of Scotland, but Pitlessie, Fife, held a fair on his day, the 27th August.

St Denis, the patron saint of France, whose festival was held on 18th October, and St Columba and St Marnock were the titular saints of five fairs each: the latter saint's day fell on 1st March, but it seems to have been more frequently celebrated in October. St Mary Magdalene also gave her name to five fairs held on 22nd July, and the occurrence of this saint's name in connection with a fair held at Fyvie makes it probable that she was the titular of the Priory of St Mary in that parish, though it has usually been attributed to the Blessed Virgin.

The following saints have four fairs each to their credit: St Catherine of Alexandria, who was a winter saint, her festival being celebrated on 25th November; St Margaret of Antioch, the virgin martyr after whom our Queen Margaret is said to have been named, was commemorated on 25th July; and St Simon and St Jude had a joint festival on 28th October.

Twelve saints were titulars of three fairs each; twenty-seven were the patrons of two each; while thirty-nine make but a single appearance in my list. Of the last-mentioned some two dozen are Celtic or native saints. Of foreigners it is easy to understand the selection of some well-known names like St Bernard, St Boniface, or St Francis of Assisi; but what influence accomplished the inclusion of devotees like St Apollinaris or St Constantine, the Cornish king (not the emperor of that name), is more difficult to determine.

It may be here mentioned that the fairs were not always held on, or even about, the exact date of the festival of the saint celebrated. Thus Dornoch originally held St Barr's Fair on its proper saint's day, 25th September, but in 1592 it was changed to 15th October because the corn standing "stoukit" was destroyed by the cattle repairing to the fair.

Among the curiosities in connection with fairs may be noticed that held at Christ's Kirk, Kennethmont, in the month of May. It began at sunset and ended one hour after sunrise next morning. From this it was known as the Sleepy Market. About 1759 the proprietor of Rannes, who was the lord of the fair, changed it from night to day, but the people were dissatisfied and neglected it altogether.

Another quaint fact we meet with in connection with saints' names and fairs is the occurrence of several purely bogus saints; this of course only happens after the Reformation. These were evidently coined in honour of the laird to whom the right of holding the fair was granted. Thus we find that Sir George Munro of Culrairie in Kinross-shire had a charter in 1670 authorising him to hold two fairs in that little hamlet: one on 20th June to be called Munro's Fair, and another on 24th September to be called St George's Fair, the real St George's festival being on 23rd April. Amongst the four fairs granted to Thomas Forbes of

Waterton in 1695 to be held at Ellon, there was a St Jean's Fair, a St Thomas Fair, and a St Elizabeth Fair, all probably referring to himself and his family. Other similar instances could be mentioned.

I shall not go further into detail, as I should only weary you by repeating a list of names. I have made a synopsis of the various saints and the places where fairs were held in their honour, to which anyone desirous of going more thoroughly into the subject may refer. Such a student will find Sir James Marwick's report, which I have mentioned above, an invaluable assistance, though he does not claim that it is exhaustive. Reference may also be made to the late Mr Mackinlay's excellent volumes on church dedications in Scotland, and to Dom. Barrett's little book on Scottish Saints, from both of which I have obtained additional information.

SYNOPSIS OF SAINTS' NAMES,

With the places in which Fairs named after them were held.

[The figures in brackets after the names of places indicate the earliest year in which mention is made in records of the fair being held. But such mention often indicates a mere confirmation of older rights, and it may well be that the fair has been held from a date much anterior to that given in the text.]

<i>St Adamnan.</i> 23rd September. Dull.	<i>St Anne, mother of the B.V.M.</i> 26th July. Crawfordjohn (1668). Inveruchil (1686). Torsukbeg. Mull (1681).
<i>St Adrian.</i> 3rd March. Pittenweem (1541).	<i>St Anthony.</i> 17th January. Halkerston (1612).
<i>The Blessed Alexander.</i> 6th August. Keith.	<i>St Apollinaris.</i> 23rd July. Inverurie (1558).
<i>St Andrew.</i> 30th November. Glenorchy. Golspie (1630). New Keith (1701). Kirkintilloch (1588). Old Meldrum (1669). Perth (1600). Old Rayne. St Andrews (1614). Stornoway (1607). Strathdon. Tarvis (1681).	<i>St Barchan.</i> 4th August. Tain (1588). Kilbarchan.
<i>St Andrew the Boy.</i> 7th July. Glass (1681). Inverness (1592).	<i>St Barr (Finbar).</i> 25th September. Dornoch (1630).
<i>St Angus.</i> August. Balquhidder.	<i>St Bartholomew.</i> 25th August. Clackmannan (1517). Scone (1672). Peebles (1544).
	<i>St Boniface.</i> 16th March. Fortrose (1661).

St Barnabas. 11th June.
Crawford (1542).
Drem (1616).
Kildrummy (1593).

St Boisel (Boswell). 18th June.
St Boswells.

St Brandan. 16th May.
Kilbirnie.
Inveraray (1474).

St Bridget (Bride). 1st February.
Kildrummy.

St Brioc (Broc). 1st May.
Rothsay.
Coull.

St Callen. 28th November.
Rogart (1630).

St Caran. 23rd December.
Anstruther Easter (1571).

St Carden.
Golspie.
Loth.

St Catherine of Alexandria. 25th November.
Kincardine (1541).
Newburgh.
Greenward (1686).
Ballegarno (1695).

St Catherine of Siena. 30th April.
Kinlochleven (1541).

St Constantine. 11th March.
Dunnichen.

St Chad. 2nd March.
Logierait.

St Clement, Pope. 23rd November.
Dundee (1491).
Pittenweem (1526).
Burntisland (1573).

St Columba. 9th June.
Dunkeld (1512).
Gogo (1595).
Largs.
Inverlochie (1684).
Torsukbeg (1681) [held on 5th March].

St Comgall. 9th May.
Durriss (1669).

St Congan. 13th October.
Turrieff (1512).

St Conan. 28th January.
Glenorchy (1669).

St Cuthbert. 20th March.
Ordiquhill (1617).
Ruthwell (1508).

St David. 1st March.
Kennoway (1681).
[This, however, was more likely to have been named after David Bethune of Balfour who got the charter conferring the right to hold the fair.]

St Denis. 9th October.
Peebles [1544].
Newmilns, Ayr (1491).
Perth.
Drem (1616).
Rothiemay (1617).

St Devenic. 14th November.
Methlic.
Milton of Glenesk.

St Donan. 17th April.
Auchterless.
Kildonan (1630).

St Drostan. 14th December.
Old Deer.
Rothiemay (1617).

St Duthac. 8th March and 30th December.
Tain (1588) held a St Duthac's fair on both these days.

St Erchard (Merchard). 24th August.
Kincardine O'Neil (1511).

St Ethernan. 2nd December.
Forfar.

St Fergus. 18th November.
Wick.
Glammiss (1491).

St Felix, Pope. 30th May.
Sanquhar (1484).

St Fillan.

Killallan.

St Fotin (Potin). 2nd June.

Torry, Kincardineshire (1495).

St Francis of Assisi. 4th October.

Mauchline (1510).

Swinton (1693)

St Fumac. 3rd May.

Botriphnie.

Dunnet.

Chapel of Dene. Watten.

St Fyndoca. 13th October.

Dunning (1511).

St George. 23rd April.

Cromdale (1609).

Stornoway (1607).

St Gilbert. 1st April.

Dornoch (1630).

St Giles. 1st September.

Elgin.

Moffat (1662).

St Helen. 3rd May.

Greenlaw (1596).

St Inan. 18th August.

Beith.

St James the Great. 25th July.

Forfar (1665).

Barnhill.

Kelso.

Musselburgh (1562).

Ordiquhill (1617).

Paisley (1665).

Rowardennan (1686).

Kinghorn (1617).

Roxburgh.

Sanquhar (1484).

Spittal. Caithness (1707).

St James the Less. 1st May.

New Keith (1701).

[See also SS. *Philip and James.*]

St Jerome. 30th September.

Prestonpans (1617).

Banff (1592).

*St John the Evangelist. 27th
December.*

Deskford (Cullen).

St John the Baptist.

Birth of. 24th June.

Arbroath (1599).

Ayr (1261).

Dalmeny (1616).

Dumbarton (1226).

Fraserburgh (1546).

Glassauch (1681).

Tain (1588).

Linlithgow.

Beheading of. 29th August.

Perth (1600).

Lauder (1670).

St Jude. See SS. Simon and Jude.

St Kessog (Mackessog). 10th March.

Callander.

Auchterarder.

Cumbræ.

St Laurence. 10th July.

Dunblane.

Edzell (1692).

Greenock (1635).

Gretna (1693).

Hamilton (1549).

Methlick (1681).

Old Rayne (1493).

Saltcoats (1576).

Selkirk (1576).

Strathaven (1450).

St Leonard. 6th November.

Jedburgh (1641).

Largo (1513).

St Luke. 11th October.

Old Aberdeen (1459).

Kinross (1541).

Rutherglen (1517).

Sanquhar (1598).

Cromdale (1609).

Dalmeny (1616).

St Machan. 15th November.

Kilmahog [transferred to
Dounne 1669].

St Machar. 12th November.

Tain (1588).

Dunbalach, latterly trans-
ferred to Beaully [called "St
Maurice," but probably refers
to this saint under his Latin
name, Mauritius].

St Magnus. *trs.* 13th December.
Watten.

St Malachi. 25th June.
Milton of Balvenie (1615).

St Malrube (Maelrubha). 27th
August.

Contin.
Forres.
Fordyce.
Keith.
Pitlessie (1541).
Lairg (1630).

St Margaret, Q. d. 16th November.
Closeburn (1681).
Lauder (1670).
Balquhapple (1695).

St Margaret of Antioch. 20th July.
Dalry, Ayrshire.
Kirkliston (1621).
Dornoch (1630).
Wick.

St Mark. 25th April.
Gartmore.
Inverness.

St Marnoch. 1st March.
Kilmarnock [20th October].
Kilmalcolm [November].
Paisley [1488].
Aberchirder.

St Martin. 11th November.

Culross (1588).
Dunbar (1603).
Hamilton (1549).
Inverness (1592).
Lauder (1502).
Melrose (1621).
Newburgh, Aberdeen (1509).

Translation of relics. *St Martin of
Bullione.* 4th July.

Selkirk (1641).
Tyrebagger Hill, Aberdeenshire (1705).

St Mary, the Blessed Virgin.

Annunciation. 25th March.

Nairn (1529).
Anstruther Wester (1587).
Fochabers (1599).
Geddes (1600).
Thurso (1633).
Banff (1592).

St Mary, the Blessed Virgin—contd.
Assumption. 15th August.

Banff (1592).
Dunglass (1489).
Fochabers (1599).
Inverness (1592).
Irvine (1578).
Jedburgh (1641).
Kinloss (1497).
Kintore (1507).
Kilmalie (1684).
Monymusk [1589].

Birth of. 8th September.

Ballinlach (1497).
Banff (1592).
Bervie (1595).
Bonnakettle, Aberdeenshire (1701).
Dunbar (1603).
Fochabers (1599).
Greenlaw (1596).
Irvine (1578).
Kennoway (1681) [24th Sept.].
Saltcoats (1576).
Stirling (1447).
Terregles (1510).

Conception. 8th December.
Fochabers (1599).

Purification. 2nd February
(Candlemas).

Banff (1591).
Kinloss (1497).
Moulin (1681).

St Mary Magdalene. 22nd July.

Fyvie (1672) [31st July].
Kildrummy (1670).
Linnlithgow.
Lochmaben (1612).
Sanquhar (1598).

St Matthew. 21st September.

Culross (1490).
Cumnock (1509).

St Maurice. 22nd September.

Dounie, Inverness-shire.
Broughton.

St Methven. 6th November.

Foulis Wester.

St Michael the Archangel. 29th September.

Abercorn (1603).
Aberdeen (1590).
Annan (1612).
Ayr (1458).
Campbeltown (1700).
Crieff (1672).
Cromdale (1609).
Dalkeith (1540).
Drumlithie (1602).
Fraserburgh (1546).
Gairloch (1679).
Galashiels (1617).
Haddington (1624).
Inveraray (1574).
Inverbroray (1601).
Kilmichael-Glassary (1705).
Kinglassie (1649).
Kinkell (1563).
Kirkcudbright (1455).
Kirkmichael, Perthshire (1511).
Leslie (1457).
Lochmaben (1612).
Moulin (1681).
Nairn (1589).
Portsoy (1550).
St Andrews (1614).
Thurso (1633).

St Mirrin. 15th September.
Paisley (1488).

St Moluag (Lughaidh). 25th June.
Clatt (1501).
Alyth.
Tarland.

St Monan. 1st March.
St Monans (1596).
Durriss (1541).

St Monoch. 30th October.
Stevenston.

St Mund. 21st October.
Kilmun (1490).
Ruthven (1504).

St Nathalan. 8th January.
Cowie, Kincardineshire (1541).
Tulloch, Glenmuick.
Bothelvie (Old Meldrum).

St Nicholas. 8th December.

Aberdeen (1617).
Anstruther Wester (1541).
Earlsferry (1589).

St Ninian. 16th September.

Arbroath (1599).
Inveraray (1641).
Kinghorn (1611) [held at Whitsuntide].
Whithorn (1459).

St Olaf. 30th March.
Kirkwall [held in August].

St Palladius. 6th July.
Fordoun (1554).

St Patrick. 17th March.
Dumbarton (1600).

St Paul. Conversion of. 25th January.
Tarves (1681).

St Peter. 29th June.
Biggar (1589).
Bowden (1571).
Cromdale (1609).
Fortrose (1592).
Fyvie (1672).
Galston.
Haddington (1542).
Houston.
Inverbroray (1601).
Thurso (1633).

St Peter and St Paul. 29th June.
Burntisland (1541).
Glasgow (1199).
Peebles (1544).
Whithorn (1511).

St Peter ad Vincula. 1st August (Lammass).
Campbeltown (1700).
Huntly (1415).
Maybole (1516).
Inverbroray (1601).
Melrose (1621).
Merton (1504).
Myreton, Wigtownshire (1477).
Newburgh, Aberdeenshire (1509).
St Andrews (1614).
Stranraer (1595).
Turriff (1512).

St Philip and St James. 1st May.
Pitlessie (1541).

St Pontian. November.
Kinudie (1633).

St Regulus (Rule). 21st October.
Cromarty (1593).
Monifieth (1669).
Kennethmont.

St Serf. 1st July.
Abercorn (1603).
Auchtermuchty (1517).
Culross (1592).
Easter Aberlednock (1681).
Culsalmond (1591).

St Simon and St Jude. 28th October.
Clackmannan (1551).
Kirkliston (1621).
Prestonpans (1552).
Sanquhar (1484).

St Talarican. 30th October.
Fordyce (1499).

St Thomas the Apostle. 20th December.
Crieff (1672).
Inverness (1592).
Portsoy (1595).

St Thomas à Beckett. 7th July.
Arbroath (1599).
Closeburn (1681).

St Triduana. 8th October.
Rescobie.

St Valentine. 14th February.
Methlick (1681).

St Wallach. 29th January.
Logie-Mar.
Edinglassie.

St Vigeon (Fechin). 20th January.
Arbroath (1599).

St Vinning (Finian). 22nd March.
Kilwinning [held on 1st February].
Migvie [Tarland].

MONDAY, 13th May 1918.

PATRICK MURRAY, W.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

There was exhibited, by the courtesy of Mr Dunlop, Curator of the Dunfermline Museum, a perforated hammer of amethystine quartz, now the property of the Dunfermline Museum, found on Woodmill Farm, parish of Falkland, Fifeshire, about the year 1863. The hammer is of an

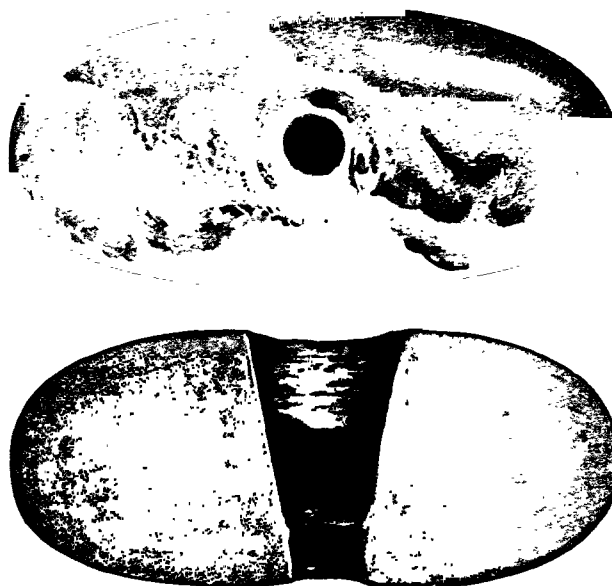


Fig. 1. Hammer of Amethystine Quartz, found near Falkland Palace, Fife. (J.)

elongated egg shape, measuring $3\frac{1}{16}$ inches in length by $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch in greatest depth, and is perforated centrally. The perforation, contrary to the usual practice, appears to have been made for the greater part of its depth from one side, extending in the form of an inverted cone to a depth of 1 inch, with a diameter of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch at the aperture, the continuation being almost cylindrical with a diameter of $\frac{7}{16}$ inch.

The material from which the hammer has been made is a quartz of very translucent quality, of a bright amethyst tint to the extent of one half of the stone, the other portion being almost white. The effect of the refraction of the light in the numerous fractures of the quartz pro-

duces the appearance of iridescence, which adds to the attractiveness of the specimen.

The hammer is beautifully finished and has been highly polished. It presents a slightly flattened surface at either end, which shows no signs of abrasion (fig. 1).

The following Donations for the Museum and Library were intimated, and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By K. M. GOURLAY, Malleny House, Balerno.

Bronze Flanged Axe, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches across the cutting edge, showing a deep crack across one side at the end of the flanged portion, found on Harlaw Farm, Balerno.

(2) By Miss CHRISTIE of Cowden, F.S.A. Scot.

Six Church Tokens of Cambusnethan of dates 1755 (duplicate), 1785, 1813, and two undated.

(3) By W. T. OLDRIEVE, F.S.A. Scot.

Bannock Toaster from Orkney. An apparatus of wrought iron consisting of two legs, hinged, one terminating with a spike, the other with a fork. On the front of the latter is a plate, in form of an eight-rayed star, on which the bannock rested, made to revolve by means of a key accessible through an oval opening formed in the back leg.

(4) By JAMES GRAY, Beehive Cottage, Dolphinton.

Church Token of Symington. *Obr.* SYMINGTON CHURCH, 1835. *Rev.* Text, with number "7" stamped in the centre. Oblong, corners cut.

(5) By Captain ANGUS GRAHAM, F.S.A. Scot.

Finger-ring of Bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in breadth, the outer surface ornamented with a double moulding, the inner surface convex.

Worked Flake of Chert, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in length.

Both found on Wester Craiglockhart Hill.

(6) By JOHN A. STEWART, F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

The Union Flag, its History and Design. St Andrew Society (Glasgow), n.d. Royal 8vo.

(7) By the TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Subject Index of the Modern Works added to the Library of the British Museum in the Years 1911-1915. London, 1918. Royal 8vo.

(8) By T. J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A., the Author.

The Later Pagan Sanctuaries in County Limerick. n.d. Pamphlet. Demy 8vo.

(9) By THOMAS MAY, F.S.A. Scot., Joint-Author.

Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Museum, Tullie House, Carlisle. By Thomas May, F.S.A., and Linnæus E. Hope, F.L.S. Reprinted from the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society's *Transactions*, vol. xvii., New Series.

(10) By MESSRS GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LTD., the Publishers.

The Vandalisms of Peace, an English Itinerary. By W. Randolph. London, 1918. Demy 8vo.

The purchase of the following Church Tokens for the Museum was intimated:—

Coupar-Angus Relief Church, 1791; Aberdour, 1796; Glendevon, previous to 1800; Cowgatehead Church, Edinburgh, 1859; West Parish, Greenock, 1833; Abbey Church (?) *quoad sacra* Arbroath, 1836; Cumbernauld Parish Church, 1866; St Andrew's Free Church, Dundee, 1843; Kilmarnock First U.A. Congregation, 1836; Carnoustie Associated Congregation of Original Seceders, 1829; Ardoch Chapel, 1834; Dalkeith First U.As. Congregation, 1830.

It was announced that the following books had been purchased for the Library:—

Vorkarolingische Miniaturen. By E. Heinrich Zimmermann. Text. Imperial 8vo. 4 Portfolios of Plates. Berlin, 1916.

Pausilypon, the Imperial Villa near Naples. By R. T. Günther, M.A. Oxford, 1913. Imperial 8vo.

Catalogue of Runic Literature forming part of the Icelandic Collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske. Compiled by Halldor Hermannsson. Oxford University Press, 1918. Crown 4to.

The following Communications were read:—

I.

AGRICOLA AND THE ANTONINE WALL. BY PROFESSOR HAVERFIELD.
LL.D., F.B.A., HONORARY MEMBER.

A brief remark of Tacitus, in his biography of his father-in-law, Agricola (ch. xxiii.), records that that Roman general about A.D. 80 constructed a line of forts across the isthmus, some 35 miles wide, which separates the Forth from the Clyde; and the excavations which Scottish antiquaries carried out some ten to twenty years ago have confirmed the remark, and have provided clues to the actual sites of some of these forts. The object of the excavations was, indeed, to explore the Antonine Wall and its defending forts which the Emperor Pius, about A.D. 140-145, built across this isthmus. But, before these excavations had been carried very far, it became clear that some, at least, of the forts of Pius stood on sites which had been fortified by Agricola sixty years earlier.

Agricola, according to Tacitus, had singular skill in choosing strong situations for his forts (ch. xxii.). This was recognised not only by his (sometimes partial) biographer, who, after all, neither was nor professed to be a strategist, but also by the expert judgment of military men two generations later, who, for the new series of forts, adopted sites already occupied by Agricola, and thus confirmed the eulogy of Tacitus. Whether all the forts which were built about A.D. 140 along the Antonine Wall stand on Agricolan sites, cannot yet be said, and perhaps will never be clear. The excavations above mentioned were, indeed, carried out with inadequate appreciation of the chronological value of certain evidences, and of the possibility of assigning, with their aid, the occupation of this or that particular site to a particular period. From this point of view, it must be admitted that some of these excavations ought, whenever circumstances allow, to be repeated, or, at least, to be carried further—though, at the moment, the outlook of excavations for the next many years is a poor one, since war has spent the capital which might otherwise have gone to the increase of knowledge.

However, historians owe much to these excavations, and much also to the researches of our Fellow, Dr G. Macdonald, and of others, who have elicited from the ascertained facts more than, at first sight, they seemed able to tell. Thus, it has been long clear that certain sites, namely, those of the five following forts (i.-v.) were first selected by Agricola, and that new forts were placed on precisely the same sites sixty years later; something has been learnt, too, about the characteristics of Agricola's forts.

(i.) *At Barhill*, about 10 miles east of the centre of Glasgow, traces

of an Agricolan fort were detected in the excavations of 1902-1903, underlying the later structures of a fort datable to Pius. Of the earlier (Agricolan) fort only the ditches were found (fig. 1); its ramparts and its internal buildings—probably earthen ramparts and wooden buildings, such as were usual in Britain during the Flavian age—had no doubt been levelled away when the later fort was built, and in 1902 were no

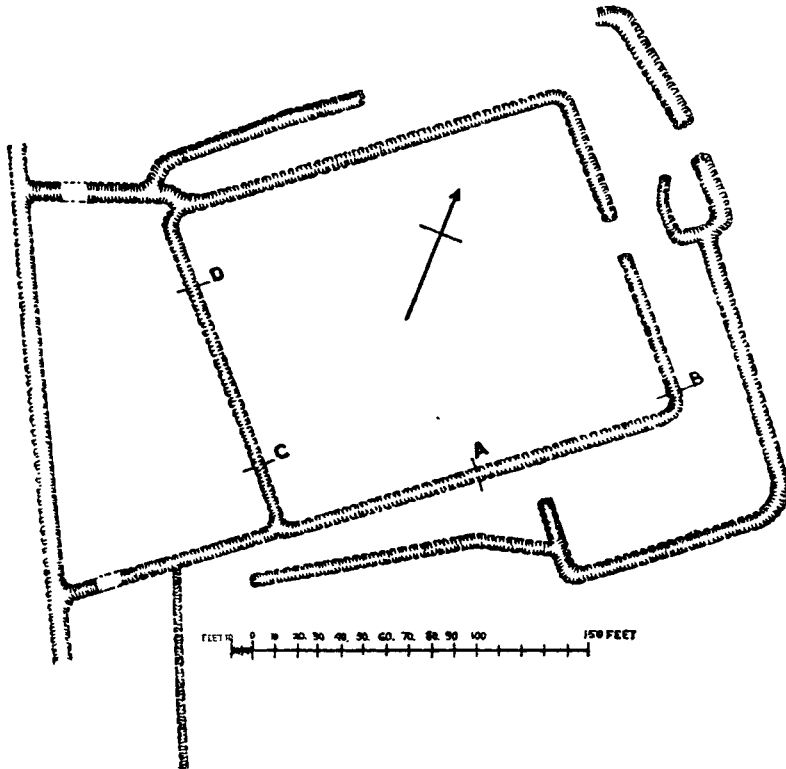


Fig. 1. Early Fort Plan at Barhill.

longer distinguishable, save that the lines, etc., of the ditches indicate plainly those of the ramparts. This Agricolan fort¹ was apparently (fig. 1) a very small rectangular *castellum*, with an internal area of about 143 by 180 feet—not quite two-thirds of an acre, and barely one-sixth of the area of the fort of Pius; it was defended by easily traceable and somewhat intricate ditches, which suggest that it had round it large and complicated ramparts and ravelins, like those of Rough Castle or of Ardoch.

¹ Full report in *Proceedings*, vol. xl. pp. 403-546, from which fig. 1 is reproduced above.

(ii.) *At Rough Castle*, near Falkirk, excavations in 1903¹ showed, just north of the fort, a group of small pits (fig. 2), each pit about 7 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2½ feet deep; the group covered in all one-fifth of an acre (50 feet by 200 feet); the pits were clearly meant as obstacles to an enemy charge. As I ventured to point out when they were found, they recall the "lilia" with which, in B.C. 52, Caesar (*de Bello Gallico*, vii. 73) strengthened his blockading lines round Alesia in Central Gaul. Like those, they were probably equipped inside with sharpened stakes to impale fallen enemies—very similar pits were used in 1904 in the siege of Port Arthur. It is true that no actual traces of stakes were noted by the excavators, but the wood may well have perished in eighteen centuries—or its vestiges may have been overlooked in excavation. Even without stakes, the pits would serve their purpose well. "Camouflaged" by a covering of straw or of heather, like Bruce's pits at Bannockburn, they would effectively break the impetuosity and impact of a Highland charge, which, as many remains in Scotland and in northern England show, the Romans especially dreaded.² In the Roman age the barbarian offensives naturally took the form of heavy massed attacks, and owing to the reckless courage and the vast numbers of the barbarian assailants, and owing also to the scanty knowledge of chemistry possessed by the whole ancient world, barbarian massed attacks had real chance of success. From Barhill, we can see (as, indeed, can be guessed from continental evidence) that some of Agricola's forts were, probably, much smaller than the forts used forty years later for the Wall of Hadrian, which itself was built about A.D. 120, or for the Wall of Pius, built twenty years later still (A.D. 140).³ We may even conceive "journalists" in Hadrian's reign looking back to Agricola, and styling the larger forts of their own time "*super-castella*." We may infer that the Agricolan garrisons were correspondingly small, and though, as at Barhill, they had small areas to defend, and short ramparts to man, they none the less needed special defences when confronted with the vastly superior forces of barbarian assailants. Such a special defence was the "lily-bed" at Rough Castle. No remains as yet found inside its pits have yielded any clue to its precise date, beyond the fact that it is

¹ Full report in *Proceedings*, vol. xxxix. pp. 442-449.

² The "multiple ditches" which defended many Roman forts in Scotland and in north England are uncommon in southern England and on the Continent—at least, in the same form and in equal elaboration. It is fair to suppose that they were devised against some peculiarly dangerous attacks, such as Highland charges have throughout history been.

³ The Roman castella in the second century varied a good deal in area, as was inevitable, when the garrisons varied from a minimum of 500 infantry to 1000 horse (at Newstead perhaps more). One may take 3-4 or 3-5 acres as a rough average. Nineteen forts on Hadrian's Wall (the fort at Newcastle is wholly doubtful) seem to have averaged in area 3½ acres. The areas of the forts along the Antonine Wall are still very imperfectly known, but seem to have been in general somewhat smaller than those on Hadrian's Wall; owing to the fact that they were mostly provided with annexes, their internal areas would anyhow be difficult to calculate with precision.



Fig. 2. The Pits (Lilia) to north-west of north gate of Rough Castle Fort.

Roman work. Perhaps fresh digging will some day, at trifling cost, furnish the needful evidence, now that the excavators know better what to look for than was known in 1903. However, Dr Macdonald (*Roman Wall*, p. 231 f.) has pretty well proved that these Rough Castle pits date from Agricola, while an inscription found there connects the adjacent fort with the reign of Pius (*Eph. epigr.*, ix. 1241).

(iii.) *At Camelon*, near Falkirk, excavations in 1899 yielded potsherds of Agricolan date, although those who reported on these diggings in our *Proceedings* were unduly sceptical.¹ One might connect with these Flavian potsherds a Camelon inscription mentioning the *legio ii Adiutrix pia fidelis*, but I believe this to be a modern forgery.²

(iv.) *At Castle Cary*, near the middle of the isthmus, pottery was found³ which belongs to the age of Agricola; it combines with other indications noted at this fort, to suggest that Agricola was the first builder of a fort on this hill-top, and that Pius reconstructed it (Macdonald, *Roman Wall*, p. 374). The site, near the middle of the isthmus, is of strategic value as well as tactically strong, and it would naturally attract attention when the isthmus was being fortified, either by Agricola or by Pius.

Thus it appears that a considerable proportion of the forts on the Wall, which have been lately investigated with the spade, were first established by Agricola, and the remark of Tacitus is confirmed that the isthmus between Forth and Clyde was by him garrisoned by a row of detached forts, forming almost a wall, and very probably connected together by a road, as the Wall of Pius was.

(v.) I desire to quote one more piece of evidence, which, though not unpublished, has not been published in this country, and may be new to most readers of our *Proceedings*. I came upon it after Dr Macdonald's *Roman Wall* was issued. It adds the fort of *Cadder* to the list of places where the footprints of Agricola, or of his age, can be detected. According to Camden, there existed in Scotland, apparently between 1607 and the year of his death, 1633, an altar of which nothing has since been seen inscribed:—

DEO
SILVANO
L TANICVS
VERVS
5. PRAEF VSLLM

¹ Vol. xxxv. pp. 329-427; see esp. pp. 380, 392.

² *Eph. epigr.*, ix. 1367; *Classical Review*, 1904, p. 461. There is no reason to doubt that this legion came to Britain about A.D. 70. and was removed about A.D. 85. The inscription, if genuine, would be no later than Agricola, and could hardly be earlier than about A.D. 80, because, before that time, no Roman troops had reached the neighbourhood of Falkirk.

³ Report of excavations, *Proceedings*, vol. xxxvii. pp. 271-346; the pottery was not noticed till later.

"To the god Silvanus, L. Tanicus Verus, prefect (of a cohort, presumably), pays his vow."

It has generally been recognised that this copy is probably in one item incorrect; the name of the prefect, L. Tanicus, must be a misreading; otherwise the inscription might pass as one of the many set up by soldiers on the Wall of Pius, which, as must be confessed, add little to our knowledge. However, the Bodleian Library in Oxford contains a number of papers, mostly relating to Camden, known as "MSS. Smith."¹

coronam

DEO
SILVANO
L. TANICIUS
VERUS
PRAEF VS LL.M

Fig. 3. Inscription from Cadder. In autograph of Camden, *Britannia*, ed. 1607, p. 699, Bodl. Lib.²

No. 1 in the Smith collection (MS. Smith 1) is a copy of Camden's *Britannia* (ed. 1607), with marginal notes by Camden; on the margin of p. 699 he has written in his own hand a copy of our inscription; he does not give any specific provenance for the stone, but his note is so placed that it can only refer to Cadder. The text which he sets out differs by only one letter from the commonly received text (fig. 3). It has "L. Tanicius" instead of "L. Tanicus." Small as the variation is, it is important. Tanicius is an exceedingly rare Roman *nomen*, of which I find only one other example.

¹ Dr Thomas Smith, 1638-1710, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, edited Camden's *Correspondence* in 1691.

² Camden seems to have written first "Tanisius," and then corrected that to "Tanicius." "Tanisius" is a very rare *nomen*, no doubt a by-form of the much commoner "Tanusius." But it is pretty plain that here Camden meant to set down "Tanicius."

That is in a long and well-attested inscription of a soldier with precisely the same names as our præfect—L. Tanicius Verus; I imagine one may conclude that he was either the same man (the most natural assumption) or a close relative, and a man of the same period. Now, this other Tanicius Verus, according to his inscription (found in Upper Egypt) was born at Vienna in Gaul, now Vienne, on the Rhone, a little south of Lyon, and reached the rank of centurion in "Legio iii Cyrenaica" (CIL. iii. 34). It further records that he was stationed in Upper Egypt, and there, like many Romans in the Empire, went to hear the sunrise song of the vocal statue of Memnon, much as a modern soldier at Bulford might last June, 23rd-24th, have gone to see sunrise at Stonehenge; indeed, so impressed was Verus, that, while in Upper Egypt, he went to hear it thirteen times. The stone gives the dates of his thirteen visits—the first on 7th November 80 A.D., the last on 2nd June 81; after that, the visits stopped, and we may assume that he was transferred from Egypt, or at any rate from anywhere near the statue of Memnon (at Carnac, the Egyptian Thebes, in Upper Egypt). It would seem that actually he was transferred to North Britain and to the command of an auxiliary cohort there.¹ As he was at Thebes in June 81, he would reach Britain towards the second half of Agricola's governorship, just after Domitian had (in September 81) succeeded to Titus. It was about that time that the building of the forts on the Clyde-Forth isthmus began (*Aggr.*, ch. xxii.).² One of these forts clearly was Cadder, if (as I do not see cause to doubt) Camden was right in assigning the altar to that place.

I note in this connection that it seems to have been the middle of the isthmus of which Agricola took firmest hold. The easternmost of the five forts in question was Camelon; there Agricola seized the point from which by far the best natural route led north from the isthmus to the Highlands. By way of the rock of Stirling, which old Hector Boece not unnaturally thought Agricola to have fortified, an easy route from the Forth leads along the banks of Allan Water and the north face of the Ochils into the Earn valley and to Perth. From that strategic centre, further valleys lead north-eastwards through Strathmore, between the foothills of the eastern Grampians and the Sidlaws, to Forfar and to the east coast of Scotland near Montrose; hence an intermittent coastal strip of lowland leads on to and even beyond Aberdeen, whilst the

¹ According to A. von Domaszewski (*Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, p. 108) the promotion of a "centurio legionis" to the post of "præfectus cohortis" was in the earlier empire quite ordinary. So we put Verus in Egypt first, and in Britain afterwards, not *vice versa*.

² Or in 80. It is uncertain whether Agricola came to Britain in 77 or 78. I rather incline to 77; if so, the building of the forts began in 80. For our purpose the point is of no great moment. But if it began in 81, we might ascribe the idea of fort-building to Domitian's initiative, which Tacitus would naturally not emphasise.

valleys which reach the coast near that city afford a not difficult means of entry thence into and north of the interior uplands. This is the route by which an army-leader, wishing to deal with the Grampian *massif*, must inevitably advance from a base on or near the Forth, and it is likely that Agricola took this line, however far he finally penetrated into Scotland. But that raises problems as difficult as the Grampians to negotiate, and I have not the time at the moment to entangle myself in them.

I add, by way of illustration, another case of a homonym. An altar, found about 100 years ago at Croyhill, names an officer "Fabius Liberalis" (Macdonald, *Roman Wall*, p. 341). An officer of the same name occurs on an altar found in a fort on the "Limes" in Germany, at Stockstadt near Aschaffenburg. But the German altar is ascribed by the latest German writer on it¹ to the third century A.D. He seems to have thought that there may be some identity of men. But he has overlooked the fact that the Wall of Pius was abandoned by the Romans about A.D. 180, so that the Croyhill Fabius belonged practically to the generation before the Stockstadt Fabius. There is thus an appreciable difference in time between the dates of the Stockstadt and the Croyhill officers, which makes their identity *a priori* unlikely. Had the names "Fabius" and "Liberalis" been less common, probabilities would of course be different, but there seems to be known only one other Tanicius in the wide Roman world, while "Fabii," and men with the cognomen "Liberalis" abound. The case, therefore, for identifying our Tanicius Verus with the only other known Tanicius, who is also Verus, is far stronger than the case for identifying the two (if they be two) men called "Fabius Liberalis." Moreover, the latter identification involves (as I have said), a plain difficulty in dates, which does not arise in relation to Tanicius Verus.

¹ Drexel, *ORL.*, xxxiii. (1910), p. 96.

II.

SOME EARLY ORKNEY ARMORIALS. BY J. STORER
CLOUSTON. F.S.A. Scot.

The chief sources tapped in this paper are the more ancient tombstones in St Magnus Cathedral, and certain seals attached to early fifteenth-century Orkney documents now in the Danish Record Office at Copenhagen. Of the stones dealt with, all in fact, save one, come from St Magnus. Through the courtesy of the Kirkwall Town Council and Mr G. M. Watson, architect in charge of the restoration, they were examined and rubbings taken in the summer of 1917 while the slabs lay outside the church. Though two or three have been illustrated or described before, they were then *in situ*, in a bad light and not so easy of access, and no actual rubbings were, so far as I know, ever made. I had the further advantage of Archdeacon Craven's company and counsel in my examination, and I should like to express my grateful thanks for his help.

Coming to the seals, I have obtained notes or photographs, and in one case casts, of eight of them from Mr Erslev, curator of the Danish Record Office, and to him my thanks are also very specially due. Three others were attached to Orkney documents which have come into my hands since the publication of the *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*; while another was described there, but certain facts have come to light about it since which seemed to justify some further reference.

For help in examining them I have to express my indebtedness to Mr Rae Macdonald, Mr R. K. Hannay, and Mr A. O. Curle; and in regard to the heraldry generally, I feel under great obligations to Mr F. J. Grant for answering my numerous inquiries.

Figs. 1 and 2 show the two earliest armorial records in the cathedral, and are among the very oldest connected with the islands. The shield in fig. 2 is over a dignified recessed tomb in the south wall of the nave, and that in fig. 1 on a slab which used to lie loose within the tomb but never formed any part of it. Architecturally the tomb can be dated with certainty from the fourteenth century. Sir Henry Dryden put it at the beginning of that century; but Mr G. M. Watson would date it as more probably belonging to the middle or latter half, and the straight sides of the shield in fig. 2 seem distinctly to support his view.

The slab has the appearance of being earlier. The shape of the shield is certainly of an earlier type (though found all through the fourteenth century); the arrangement of the three charges converging to fess point is purely continental—being very common in early Norwegian seals—and

indicates a date before Scottish fashions had affected the islands; and the curious border to the helmet is also suggestive. It can scarcely be mere ornament, since the moulding round the slab is severely plain and is repeated in its severity round the shield, and it would therefore seem to be an attempt to indicate very freely in stone the capeline with an invected edge so conspicuous in the *Armorial de Gelres* (see particularly Nos. 38 and 39 in the plates of facsimiles from that Armorial, vol. xxv. of these *Proceedings*, where two helmets are shown with capelines but without crests). If one takes the long downward point on the sinister side of the shield to be all intended for capeline, the helmet with its round top and sharp little nose becomes then precisely the same shape as those in that roll, and in fact I can see no way of reconciling the shape of this helmet with any known models except on the assumption that the long point is part of the capeline. Since the *Armorial de Gelres* dates from 1334 down to the latter part of that century, and other very early continental rolls of arms show much the same capeline and helmet, one seems to be justified in assigning a similar date to this slab.

Both coats show the same arms, three guttéés—reversed in the case of fig. 2¹ (each has been described as having a bordure, but the edging appears to be merely ornamental in fig. 2, and only to indicate the outline of the shield in fig. 1). Dryden supposed these to be the early arms of the Earls of Stratherne, but in this he was certainly mistaken. The first recorded Stratherne arms, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, bore nine billets, not guttéés, and they had been permanently altered to two chevronels several generations before the family had any connection with Orkney.

The true ownership of these coats is disclosed by one of the seals attached to the decree of court 12th November 1584, shown in the *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*. This is the seal of Steven Paplay, bearing arms, three guttéés with a star at fess point. The Paplays were certainly one of the greatest native families in Orkney till their chief estates passed by marriage to the Irvings, about 1460, and founded the well-known family of Irving of Sabay: and even after that they remained among the leading families in the islands for a considerable period. These arms, moreover, are so unique and distinctive, whether one looks to early Scottish or Norwegian armorials, that beyond any doubt this tomb and slab commemorate two members of the Paplay family.

Before the early part of the fifteenth century, Orkney records are almost non-existent. There are, however, a very few, and from these it is possible to form a pretty good idea of who at least one of these two

¹ They were probably reversed simply because the stone-cutter endeavoured to copy the charges in the earlier shield, two of which look reversed owing to their arrangement.



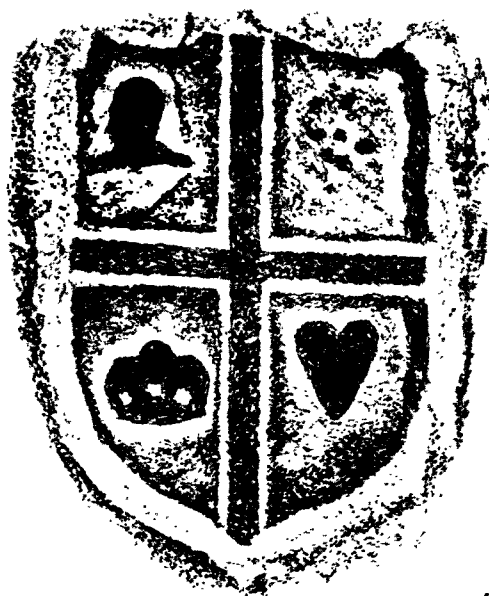
1.



2.



3.



4.

Fig. 1. Arms on Paplay slab.

Fig. 3. Arms of Flett impaling Tulloch,
from slab.

Fig. 2. Arms above Paplay tomb.

Fig. 4. Arms of Sir Nicol Halero,
from slab.

(All in St Magnus Cathedral.)

Paplays probably was. Such an imposing tomb would only have been erected over one holding a particularly outstanding position, clerical or lay. The absence of any clerical insignia shows that he was not a churchman. The single outstanding lay office in the Orkneys was that of Lawman,¹ an office always held by a member of one of the principal landed families, and carrying with it the dignity both of judge and *preses* of the landowners. In 1369, in a list of twenty-four arbiters convened to settle the quarrels between the Governor and Bishop, bearing mostly Scottish or Norwegian names, two with recognisable native Orkney surnames are found, one of them being Sigurd of Paplay—obviously a leading personage. In 1338 one Sigurd Sigvatson was Lawman of Orkney, and apparently had not long held the office, since in 1325 Sigvat Kolbeinson was Lawman. If these Sigurds were the same man, we have then a Sigurd of Paplay who held the dignified office of Lawman for over thirty years, and we have a tomb with the Paplay arms dating from the end of this space of time, which obviously commemorates an outstanding lay dignitary.

Again, since Sigvat Kolbeinson and Sigurd Sigvatson were very probably father and son, and the slab can well be dated from somewhere in the first half of the fourteenth century, it seems very likely that the first of these two Lawmen was once laid beneath it.

The early and very fine tombstone, the arms on which are shown in fig. 3. has two coats impaled above a stepped cross fleury, with the initials M.F. in relief within square panels.² The sinister is the well-known arms of Tulloch: on a fess between three cross crosslets fitchée, as many stars. The dexter coat is a horn between three trefoils. M.F. who bore it was certainly a member of a native family, since no such arms are known in association with any Scottish family beginning with F.: nor is it difficult to guess who he must have been. Only two native families were seriously in the running, Flett and Foubister, and only one M.F. is on record at the date to which the stone must be assigned (round about 1500), and that was a Magnus Flett, witness in 1480 and 1482, whom I had already supposed to be the ancestor of the well-known sixteenth-century family of Flett of Hobbister. The natural supposition that these must be his arms is confirmed by Burke's *Armory*, which gives the arms of Flett as, argent, a chevron between three trefoils sable. It may be added that the horn is no doubt a drinking horn. This charge occurs several times on Norwegian seals, and the horn on the slab is not stringed.

¹ There were also the King of Norway's "ballivi," but precisely what the nature of this office was is not known; nor it is certain whether the ballivi were generally Norwegians or Orkneymen.

² This shield was described in *Orkney Armorial*s, but (probably owing to bad light) the initials were read as M.B., and the dexter coat was supposed to be Bothwell. When seen properly, there is no possible doubt as to the letters.

The arms are therefore Flett impaling Tulloch, and it is satisfactory to find this early record of the Flett arms, because on two occasions they have just given posterity the slip. Kolbein Flett attached his seal to the complaint of Orkney (1424 or 1425), but it is now so defaced that only a few letters of the legend and the corner of the shield can be deciphered. And again on a letter dated 12th June 1676, from Alexander Flett of Gruthay (a descendant of the Hobbister Fletts), the remains of a seal can be seen, apparently armorial but injured beyond recognition.

It is also possible to go a step further and make a pretty shrewd guess as to the lady's identity. Sir David Sinclair of Sumburgh, by his will made in 1506, left William Flett of Hobbister and his brother Criste his heirs in all his lands in Orkney (with one or two small exceptions), his "innes" in Kirkwall, and his "little ship." Considering that Sir David had not only sons and daughters but a numerous kin of brothers and cousins, such a bequest implies a very strong cause. An extremely near relationship seems, in fact, certain, and as Sir David was a natural son of William Sinclair, last Earl of Orkney, the most likely hypothesis is that his mother subsequently married a Flett, and that William and Criste were his legitimate half-brothers.

The mother's name is nowhere specifically stated, but in an old inventory of titles of lands acquired by Sir David Sinclair,¹ there is a curious (because apparently superfluous) allusion to lands in Shetland bought from "Begis Tullochis moder faider" (grandfather). Why this reference to Begis Tulloch, one wonders? The very next item relates to lands bought by Sir Fergus Tulloch, which "now is myne." As no other item indicates purchase by Sir David Sinclair (which can be traced in the case of all the other lands), the inference is that he heired these lands from the Tulloch family. Putting these hints together, it seems that in all likelihood Begis Tulloch was the frail lady in question, that she married Magnus Flett after her adventure with the Earl, and became the mother of William Flett of Hobbister, and that the sinister coat on this stone commemorates her to-day.

On a very time-worn stone in St Magnus is a shield (fig. 4) bearing arms:—quarterly, (1) a mount; (2) (a rose or cinquefoil?); (3) a crown; (4) a heart; over all, dividing the quarters, a plain cross. Of the inscription, the words *vir dñs nicolas hacro* can be read, showing the slab to be the tombstone of Sir Nicol Halero, parson of Orphir, frequently on record (generally as appending his seal, which, however, has in every case been lost) from 11th March 1507–08 to 20th April 1545. As he does not appear in the fairly numerous deeds dated about 1550, this slab would seem to

¹ *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, Appendix D.

have taken his place in the world about that time, and the shape of the shield certainly suggests no later date.

Sir Nicol was son of David Halcro of Thurregar in South Ronaldsay, mentioned in the Rental of 1492 (the first Halcro to appear on record), and again in 1508, when he was party to a case, and his son Sir Nicol acted as his "umbothsman" or agent. For reasons given later, this David appears likely to have been the ancestor of the Halcros of Aikers.

The first quarter of the shield shows the paternal mount of Halcro, somewhat worn at the edges, and the cross may have been introduced as indicating Sir Nicol's sacred calling. The origin of the other charges raises interesting speculations as to the earlier marriage connections of the family, but there is no evidence sufficient to identify them.

The old tombstone shown in fig. 5 (*a* and *b*) bears two shields, one above the other, the arms evidently of a husband and wife. No doubt exists as to the ownership of the upper coat (fig. 5*a*). The initials are V.H., enough of the inscription round the edge remains to make out the words "HIC JACET HONES . . . VILIELM(VS)," and the arms are exactly those on the tombstone of Sir Hugh Halcro, rector of South Ronaldsay (1554), except that here the lion is on the sinister side and the stars and gutteés on the dexter, while the mount in base is flat underneath instead of suggesting a three-pronged heart. Otherwise the coats are identical, even in the matter of the lion being *contournée*; and looking to the extraordinary variations the Halcro arms exhibit (see figs. 4, 5*a*, and 15), a near relationship between this William and Sir Hugh must be presumed.

A ray of fresh light is thrown on the Halcro genealogy by these arms. The William once laid beneath them was certainly not William Halcro of Aikers, who died shortly after 30th April 1593. His two wives were Margaret Cragy and Margaret Bruce, while this William's spouse was "I.S.," and her arms are noticed below. Also, William of Aikers bore arms a lion rampant on a mount, on a chief (2 or 3?) gutteés, as shown on his seal appended in 1584. And furthermore, this stone is to all appearances earlier than 1593.

Hitherto it has been assumed, with every show of reason, that William of Aikers was identical with William, son of John, included in the Halcro entail of 1544. But the identity of the arms on this stone with those of Sir Hugh Halcro, one of the two entailers, seems to indicate distinctly that their bearer must actually have been the man. And this is supported by an analysis of dates. John (dead by 1544) can scarcely have been other than John Halcro, chosen arbiter in an important legal case in 1507-1508, and therefore not a youth then. William of Aikers was one of the three commissioners who in 1587 were deputed to "pass throughout the haill lands of Orknay of new agane," and adjust the boundaries

between odal and King's or Bishop's lands, and he therefore cannot have been a very old man at that date, which makes it *a priori* unlikely he was John's son.

But a William Halcro not described as "of Aikers" is on record as a witness in 1555-56, 1556, 1561, and 1564-65, and in 1562-63 was oversman at a division of the Cromarty of Cara estate. This must, then, have been the William, son of John and last-mentioned heir of entail in 1544, to whose memory this stone was laid in St Magnus. On the paternity of William of Aikers, one item in the Halcro inventory seems to throw some light:—"20th April 1558. Renunciation by William Halcro of Aikers to Hugh Halcro of that Ilk of the islands (*sic*) which pertained to Sir Nicol Halcro." It would therefore seem probable that William of Aikers was nephew or son, certainly heir, of that Sir Nicol Halcro, parson of Orphir, whose tombstone has been noticed above.

The second shield on this slab (fig. 5*b*) bears arms:—barry wavy of 8, in chief a seal's head erased. The shape of the head and snout, the absence of ears, and the frequent appearance seals make both on the shores and in the legends of Orkney, leave no doubt as to the species of animal depicted. And taken in this conjunction, there seems equally little doubt that the barry wavy must (as it so often does) typify the sea. The coat, in fact, evidently represents the sea, with the seal's head to enforce the allusion. The initials on either side of it are quite plain—I.S.—and as that part of the inscription giving the wife's name has completely disappeared, they give the only clue to the lady's identity.

These curious arms are quite unknown to Scottish heraldry, so that the search is confined to native Orkney families beginning with S. These are not numerous, and the number who can be described as reasonably likely to have borne arms at that date is extremely small. On general grounds of extent of land owned at an early date, and early appearances as representative men, the ancient family of Skea (also spelt Skae, Skay, or Ska), of Skea in Deerness, would be first favourite; and as a matter of fact there are certain definite reasons against each of the very few other possibilities, which leaves the Skeas practically the only likely family.

But apart from this general presumption, there is some positive evidence to indicate that these must have been the arms of Skea. In the first place, there actually was a female "I.S." in the family at the very time, and none is on record in any other family. Janet Skea, second wife of John Cromarty of Cara, was left a widow about 1560. She certainly was an heiress, since lands can be traced as having come through her into the hands of the Cromartys, and therefore was the more likely to be armorially commemorated. Furthermore, as has been

seen above, this same William Halcro acted as oversman when the Cromarty property was divided after the death of John Cromarty, her

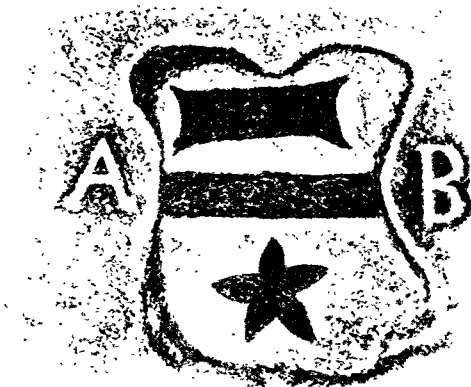


5a & 5b

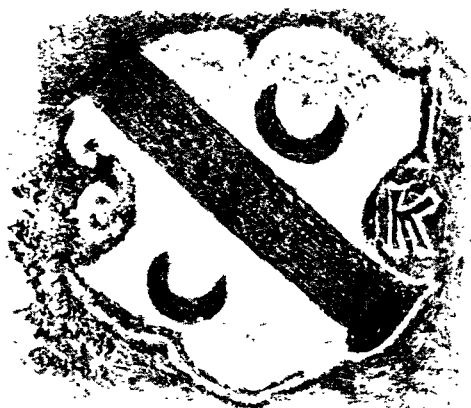
Fig. 5a. Arms of William Halcro.

Fig. 5b. Arms of his wife, probably Janet Skea, on the same slab.

(Both in St Magnus Cathedral.)



6



7

Fig. 6. Arms of "A. B."

Fig. 7. Arms of "(C) K," his wife, on the same slab.

husband; and it is to be noted that she was his second wife, and so not improbably a youngish woman still. Another link between this William and the Cromarty family is seen in his appearance as witness to an agreement between Janet Skea's eldest stepson John (then "of

Cara") and James Tulloch, on 13th April 1561. We therefore know that he was a trusted and intimate friend of the family at the time when Janet Skea was left a widow. So that there the match was, ready to be made; and from his wife's initials we may pretty safely conclude that it was made.

In the absence of any other serious competitors for these arms, these reasons alone leave little doubt that they were the arms of Skea. But it seems highly probable that such a curious and distinctive coat must have had some allusion behind it, and ought to give a further clue. Certainly neither *sæ* (thè sea) nor *sel* (a seal) points to any other family, and the not too exacting requirements of canting heraldry might have been satisfied with a play on the words *sæ* and *Skea* (which was always pronounced Skay). Or perhaps the Halcro mount may be a better analogy. The first syllable of Halcro means "high," as does the first syllable of Holland, the township in which Halcro lay, while the "Hill of Halcro" is more than once on record, and is an unusual feature in the low-lying island of South Ronaldsay; and personally I cannot help seeing in the heraldic mount of the family some connection with these facts. The "urisland" of Sketoun or Skealand, in which the township of Skea lies, is a blunt sea-girt promontory, facing (as few of the arable districts in Orkney do) the open ocean, and perhaps a similar combination of sound and sense may account for the arms in question.

I may add that it is only in the case of distinctive charges, not of the common type, and apparently allusive of *something*, that I should think of suggesting such a solution. The six fountains of Stourton is a classical and accepted instance of exactly the same thing.

Another old stone in St Magnus contains two shields, one above the other (figs. 6 and 7). From the marked difference in the shape of the shields and the way in which the initial letters are cut, one would say that the lower shield must have been added at a later date. The dates, however, of both would seem to be about the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. There is no inscription, or any other clue to the identity of either husband or wife apart from the initials.

The upper shield (fig. 6) bears arms—a fess between a cushion in chief and a star in base, with the initials A.B. Considering the large number of Orkney deeds of all kinds extant at this period, one would certainly expect to find the owner of this armorial tombstone on record. Indeed, one would look for more than one appearance of such a gentleman. On this assumption, the only probabilities are two members of the family of Banks, Allester and Alexander, both included in Earl Robert Stewart's testament dative (dated 4th February 1592, and included in the Edinburgh Commissariot Register under date 26th April 1597) as persons in his

service to whom fees were owed by the deceased. And they both occur in several other records of the period.

Allester Banks is known to have married a daughter of William Good or Gude, cooper, since his son John Banks was "oy" and heir to the said William,¹ but of course he may have married a lady beginning with K as well; while Alexander's wife is unknown. The extraordinary thing about the arms is that they are the arms of the Scottish family of Marjoribanks,² while this Orkney family apparently took their name from the old Hall of Banks in Kirkwall, which at one time they owned. One cannot help suspecting that the similarity in sound led either the Banks family or the stone-cutter to "cabbage" the Marjoribank arms.

The arms on the lower shield (fig. 7) are a bend between two crescents, with the initials (C.?) K. These arms bear a strong resemblance to those of Cant; the nearest approximation being to the arms of Alexander Cant—a bend engrailed between two crescents.³ As the Cants were a Kirkwall family of good position, the probabilities seem strong that this is the correct solution. There are two small objections that may be stated, though possibly they are of no great weight. In the first place, I have never found Cant spelt with a K at so late a date. In the second place, the only previous occasion on which the arms of an Orkney Cant are on record is the seal of Sir Charles Cant, parson of Orphir, appended 26th August 1496, and the arms there are, a lion passant with a star in dexter chief.⁴ However, there are certainly no other known arms of any family beginning with K which correspond to those on this slab.

The slab shown in fig. 8 was found beneath the ground in the Orphir churchyard a few years ago and is now preserved within the church. It is obviously of very considerable antiquity. I believe the fourteenth or early fifteenth century is considered the most probable date by those competent to judge. It has not been deemed by most authorities to be heraldic; but as they have failed to suggest any other explanation whatever of its peculiarities, I personally have gradually come round to the opinion always held by Dr Craven that it is an attempt by some stone-cutter ignorant of heraldry to combine a coat of arms (of which he was probably given a most inadequate sketch or description) with the conventional cross and sword design.

It is, of course, the resemblance of the indented upper part of the cross to the engrailed cross of the Sinclairs, the ruling family in Orkney from 1379 to 1471, that affords the strongest grounds for this suggested heraldic

¹ Hossack's *Kirkwall in the Orkneys*, p. 358.

² See *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 1867, where the arms of Master Thomas Marjoribanks are precisely the same.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 362. The date of this seal was 1587 (doubtful).

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 360.

solution. The two curious round projections on the upper edge of the arm are extremely puzzling, but here again I venture to suggest a heraldic possibility: namely, that they were intended for roundels, one in each of

the first and second cantons, and were attached to the cross through sheer ignorance and lack of explicit instructions how to carry out the design. However, the reproduction of the slab here may perhaps elicit some better opinion.¹

It may be added that the initials R.R., with the seventeenth-century date and the rude figures cut in the slab at the top and bottom of the cross, are obvious reminiscences of its attendance at a second funeral.

Coming now to the early seals, three are still extant on an acknowledgment by Bishop Thomas Tulloch that he has received Orkney in fief, dated 10th July 1422;² namely, the seals of the bishop and his two sureties, Nicolas of Tholach and John of Folerton, and I have received from Mr Erslev a photograph of the first and notes of the two others. At the foot of the episcopal seal are two small shields each bearing arms, three cross crosslets fitchée. The second seal bears arms, three cross crosslets fitchée with a star at fess point, and the legend reads "s nicolawi de twloc." It will be observed that in neither of these two early Tulloch seals is the fess with the stars present. Bishop Thomas Tulloch's connection with Orkney is well known, and Nicolas Tulloch is no doubt the same as Nicol Tulloch, lawrikman in 1443 (or 1446), the presumable ancestor of the old Orkney family of Tulloch of Lambholm, from whom were descended the Tullochs of Quholm and of Rothiesholm. From his appearance in Orkney as the founder of a landed family contemporaneously with the coming of Bishop Thomas, a near relationship between them seems evident.

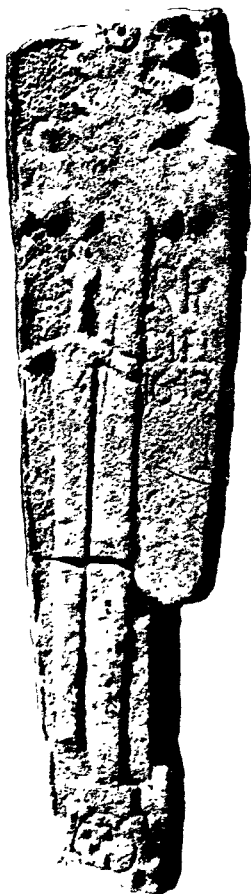


Fig. 8. Slab found in Orphir Churchyard.

¹ Cf. the ancient slab at Kilmadock, with a sword and dagger at either side of a stepped cross, and the identical device used as the arms of the Dog or Doig family on several later stones in the same churchyard, shown in Dr Christison's paper in these *Proceedings*, vol. xxxvi. Looking at the old slab alone, the device is apparently non-heraldic, but read in the light of the Dog arms, it seems evidently to have been a combination of a coat of arms with the standard cross and sword design.

² *Records of Earldom of Orkney*, No. xv.

The third seal bears, on a fess between three otters' heads erased as many cross crosslets fitchée, with the legend "S. johes de fowlertvntt" (*sic* in notes sent me, but the spelling seems somewhat strange). Fullertons are found in Orkney in the seventeenth century, but there is no evidence by which they can be traced further back.

Appended to an acknowledgment by David Menzies of Weem of his appointment as administrator or Foud of Orkney, dated at Copenhagen 15th July 1423,¹ are again three extant seals, those of Menzies himself and his two sureties, Bishop Tulloch and Walter Fraser, the bishop's being the same as described above.

Fig. 9 shows the seal of that discreditable person David Menzies, though it must be admitted that he had a very nice taste in seals. It is

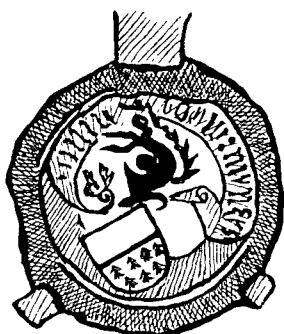


Fig. 9. Seal of David Menzies of Weem.

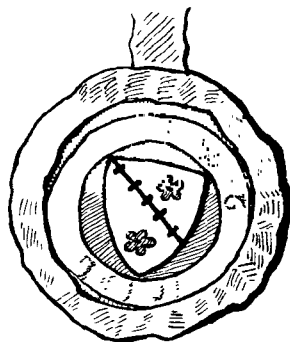


Fig. 10. Seal of Walter Fraser.

indeed as artistic a design as one will often meet with. The arms on the shield are, ermine, a chief. On the helmet, and apparently forming part of it, is a squirrel for crest. The artist, in fact, has ingeniously combined helm and squirrel into one graceful but, one would think, somewhat impracticable whole. Of the legend one can read from the photograph the last word "Menzes" quite distinctly, and the rest looks as though it were in good condition.

Walter Fraser's seal is shown in fig. 10, bearing arms, a ribbon (or bendlet?) engrailed between two fraises. Of the legend only a few odd letters are visible in the photograph, but one can clearly see the beginning of Walter or Wat. There can be no doubt that this must have been the same Walter Fraser or Fresell who just about this time bought the estate of Tolhop, apparently in equal shares with Thomas Sinclair, from John of Kirkness, Lawman of Orkney. From these two purchasers were descended the families of Fraser of Tolhop and Sinclair of Tolhop who

¹ *Records of Earldom of Orkney*, No. xvii.

are constantly on record in the sixteenth century, their various inter-dealings finally ending in the acquisition by the Sinclairs of the greater part of the Fraser property. Some clue to the paternity of this Walter Fraser may possibly be afforded by the resemblance between his arms and those on the seal of James Fraser of Frendraught, appended in 1402, a bend sinister engrailed between three fraises.¹ Also, a relationship with Thomas Sinclair who went shares with him in Tolhop is to be presumed, and Thomas is stated to have been the son of David Sinclair, and was in all probability identical with Thomas Sinclair, Warden of Orkney in 1435, whose seal bore arms a cross engrailed with a cinque-foil in dexter base.²

To the Complaint of Orkney against the misrule of David Menzies, of date either 1424 or 1425 (probably the latter year),³ five seals were attached: the common seal of Orkney, and the seals of William Thurgilsson, Lawman, Kolbein Flett, John Magnusson, and William Irving. The second is still in fair condition, and something can be made out of the first and last, but the other two are defaced beyond recognition. However, they certainly both bore shields, and enough can be made out of both legends to identify the seals.



Fig. 11. Common Seal of Orkney.

Fig. 11 shows the common seal of Orkney as reconstructed by Mr Thiset, the Danish Herald, from the remains of the seals attached to this deed and the Appeal of the People of Orkney to the Queen of Norway, dated at Kirkwall 28th March 1425.⁴ It shows a shield bearing the arms of Norway, a lion rampant crowned holding a battle-axe, supported by two gentlemen whose countenances suggest that they were selected for the job on account of its comparative simplicity.

The second seal, that of William Thurgilsson, Lawman, bears arms, a stag's head cabossed (fig. 12). Of the legend two letters are missing, one is damaged beyond recognition, and two or three others are broken, but it can be reconstructed, I think beyond any doubt, as +(ST)HVGGI KL

¹ *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 1007.

² *Ibid.*, No. 2475.

³ *Records of Earldom of Orkney*, No. xviii. In a note, reasons were given for assigning the date 1424 to this document, but it has since struck me that it is in all probability identical with the "written instructions sealed with the seals of our Lawman and other honest men," referred to in No. xix. as being dispatched to the Queen of Norway along with that missive. As No. xix. bears date 28th March 1425, the same date should therefore be probably assigned to the Complaint.

⁴ *Records of Earldom of Orkney*, No. xix.

VA(D)R QUNDAM,¹ *i.e.* S. Thurgili Klustader quondam (certainly no possible alternative reading is apparent, though I have consulted a number of expert opinions). The seal, therefore, must date from about 1390, and in the shape of the shield, character of the lettering, beaded circle, and general character it corresponds with Norwegian seals of that period. It may be added that this use of a father's seal with the explanatory "quondam" cut at a later date is extremely exceptional, but at least one other instance is to be seen in *Norske Sigiller*, No. 20.

Klustader appears in early sixteenth-century records as Cloustath, and finally as Clouston. This William son of Thorgils was probably grandfather of William of Cloustath found as "rothman" (one of the representative landowners who formed the head courts) from 1500 to 1522. In later centuries these arms were borne by the Cloustons in the form of azure, three stags' heads cabossed argent.

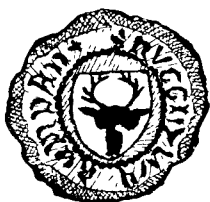


Fig. 12. Seal of William Thurgilsson, Lawman of Orkney.

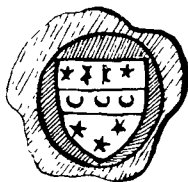


Fig. 13. Seal of John Cragy, Lawman of Orkney.

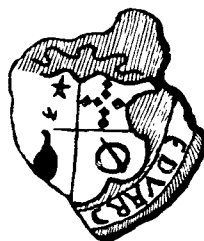


Fig. 14. Seal of Edward Sinclair of Stromie.

The fifth seal, that of William Irving, is too much broken for reproduction, but enough remains to enable the arms to be read as, three holly leaves banded. The legend seems fairly distinct in the photograph. In all probability this William Irving was father, or possibly grandfather, of Criste Irving who about 1460 married the heiress Edane Paplay. They then exchanged her estates of Paplay, Hurteso, and Okillsetter with Earl William Sinclair, getting in exchange Sabay and other lands, and down to about 1625 their descendants, the Irvings of Sabay, remained one of the chief landed families in the islands, one of them holding the office of Lawman in the sixteenth century.

The seal of John Cragy of Brough, Lawman of Orkney, appended 29th May 1509 (fig. 13) was described in *The Records of the Earldom of Orkney* as "On a fess between six stars (three in chief and three in base)

¹ It may be mentioned that the contraction stop (after I) placed down in the line, the chair-backed K, and the double G instead of RG, are all features found in the Norwegian seal legends of that period: also that a minute inspection of the last word reveals one or two indications of having been cut by another hand.

three crescents," but since then a minute examination has made it apparent that the star in middle chief is really two ermine spots, evidently introduced there as being the only available space for indicating the usual Cragy ermine field. The arms therefore are: ermine, on a fess between two stars in chief and three in base, three crescents; and it is interesting to find that these now become the same as the arms on the old font found in Birsay and at present in the Episcopal Church, Stromness, except that on the font the ermine is omitted.¹

The five stars are a somewhat puzzling addition to the Cragy arms. This family of Brough was one of the chief odal families in Orkney for at least six generations, three of them in succession holding the office of Lawman from the middle of the fifteenth century to the end of the first decade in the sixteenth, but this seal and the font are their only armorial records extant up to the sale of their estate of Brough to Mr Magnus Halero in 1556. In the seventeenth century cadet branches flourished exceedingly, the Craigies of Gairsay being particularly well known, and their arms are fairly frequently found, but in no instance is there any sign of these stars, and so far I have come across nothing that throws any light on their origin.

An interesting find is the seal of Edward Sinclair of Strome (fig. 14), appended to a charter of 22nd September 1544. He and his brother James (afterwards Sir James Sinclair of Sanday, Knight) were the instigators of the outbreak of rebellion in the islands against the royal authority in 1528, and leaders of the Orkney army which annihilated the force sent against them at the Battle of Summerdale in 1529. They were both apparently natural sons of Sir William Sinclair of Warsetter, grandson of the last Earl William Sinclair. After the death of Sir James, Edward of Strome and thirty others obtained a "Respite" for their exploits on 19th September 1539, and he continued to play a leading part in the islands for many years. The families of Sinclair of Brough in Shetland, and of Ness, Campston, Essenquoy, Flottay, Gyre, Greenwall, Damsay, Ryssay, and Smoogro in Orkney were all descended from him,—a goodly crop.

This seal bears arms:—quarterly, first, (three?) stars; second, a cross lozengy (evidently for engrailed); third, (a guttée?); fourth, a buckle; and of the legend the word "EDVARD" still remains. The unorthodox position of the paternal arms in the second quarter may possibly be accounted for by the seal being reversed in cutting. What families the other quarters represent, there is no sufficient evidence to say. His father's seal bore a simple cross engrailed, as did his son's, Oliver Sinclair of Essenquoy, and these quarterings do not appear to have been based on any recognised heraldic usage.

¹ See *History of the Church in Orkney*, vol. i. p. 114.

To a charter of 16th May 1568, two seals still remain attached. One of these is that of Mr Magnus Halero of Brough (fig. 15), bearing arms:—quarterly: first, a mount of two tops; second, a crescent; third, (a clarion?): fourth, a buckle; over all, dividing the quarters, a cross engrailed. Of the legend, the letters MA at the beginning and CLERVS at the end are visible, and one seems to read TE about the middle (but these last two letters are uncertain).

Mr Magnus Halero, Sub-Chantor of Orkney, was one of the four natural sons of Mr Malcolm Halero, Provost of the Cathedral and Arch-deacon of Shetland, legitimatised in 1545. His father was one of the two entailers of the Halero estate and brother of that Sir Hugh whose arms have been referred to previously. In 1556 Mr Magnus bought the estate of Brough in Rousay, and about 1563, immediately after the Reformation, he married Margaret Sinclair, daughter and heiress of Sir James

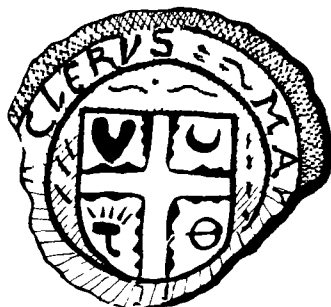


Fig. 15. Seal of Mr Magnus Halero.

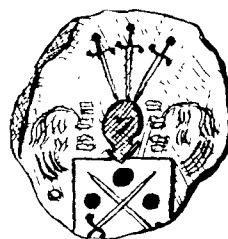


Fig. 16. Seal on seventeenth-century letter. (Shown twice real size.)

Sinclair of Sanday and Lady Barbara Stewart; Margaret having previously divorced her first husband, James Tulloch, of the Lambholm family. Evidently, then, the engrailed cross represents his wife's share in this somewhat curious coat. In the first quarter one recognises the paternal mount (if one knows the arms actually were a mount and not a heart), and what appears to be a clarion in the third probably has allusion to his office of Sub-Chantor; while the crescent and buckle are presumably reminiscences of earlier alliances.

The connection of this couple with the estate of Brough turned out to be somewhat unlucky. In 1584 Earl Robert Stewart seized it from their daughters on the ground of arrears of duties, while Mr Magnus's three natural sons were escheated for bastardy. Then, by one of those curious processes of juggling one often notices at the period, in which an estate seems to be put in one man's pocket and immediately afterwards reappears under another man's hat, Brough returned to the Haleros of that ilk, and was certainly in their hands during the first part of the next century.

The second seal still attached to this same deed is that of William Mudy of Breckness, ancestor of the well-known Moodie of Melsetter family. Unfortunately, the charges are too faint for reproduction, but they can just be made out: a chevron between three pheons, points upwards, and in chief a hunting horn stringed. These are the arms always afterwards associated with the Orkney Moodies: assuming the chevron to have been charged with ermine spots. They are now, however, quite obliterated.

The last seal to be noticed is in the nature of a riddle, and its chief interest lies in the fact that a correct solution will throw a little more light on native Orkney heraldry, for it bears a unique coat, unknown elsewhere.

It is a small seal (fig. 16) on a letter, written about 1670, in the Kirkwall Record Room. In spite of its late date, it is included here, since it seems to throw some light on two obscure early armorials, and probably records the arms of a very ancient Orkney family. They are: two swords, points upwards in saltire, between three roundels, one in chief and two in flanks (with possibly a fourth in base, where the seal is broken off). On the helmet appears for crest three swords in pale, points downwards.

These are no known Scottish arms and crest, and in addition to this reason for supposing them to be of native Orkney origin, there is a very striking identity between the crest and the three swords, also in pale and points downwards, on an ancient slab now in the Græmeshall Chapel.¹ Again, in his *Orkney Armorials*, Mr Norton-Smith describes and illustrates an ancient stone in St Magnus (which unfortunately I have been unable to find) of which the only distinct charges are three swords in chief, in pale. This time the points are upwards, yet the device of three swords in pale is in itself so unusual that the probabilities seem strongly in favour of a connection between the three instances.

One would further be inclined to guess that the three swords were the original device, that the roundels were introduced later, and that in the small seal want of space, and the loose heraldry in vogue at that time, led to the three swords being used as crest. Certainly the absence of a crest in the Paplay helmet makes it seem improbable that these swords were an ancient Orkney *crest*, especially looking to the two slabs. But however that may be, we seem to be on the track of some early and hitherto unknown Orkney arms.

Unfortunately, the letter to which the seal was affixed affords no clue, for only a fragment remains, and the handwriting cannot be identified, though even if it could, it might not be a guide, for the seals on these letters were constantly borrowed. One can only look round at the people in Orkney at that time most likely to have had such a seal, and yet whose

¹ *History of the Church in Orkney*, vol. i. p. 104.

arms are not known. These are comparatively few, but one of the very likeliest happens to bear a name that strongly suggests he was the missing owner.

Mitchell Rendell of Breck (in Westray) was then one of the leading Orkney lairds, a near relation of Arthur Baikie to whom the letter was addressed, and no doubt descended from the ancient family of Rendall or Randale of that Ilk. Henry Randall appended his seal as Lawman of Orkney in 1438 and 1446, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century the family were still one of the most important in the islands, John Rendall of that Ilk being one of those respite^d for his work at Summerdale Battle, and a witness to Bishop Reid's foundation in the Cathedral. Not only do the roundells suggest a pretty obvious allusion to this family, but one of the old Norse poetical words for a sword was *randáll*. If this double allusion—two *randálls* between three *roundells*—does not refer to the name Rendall, one can only say that it is a very curious coincidence.

Looking over this collection of early Orkney armorials, there is one feature manifest in several of the coats, and perhaps to be suspected in others, and that is the extreme latitude which their designers permitted themselves in the matter of introducing charges other than the simple paternal arms. There is no sign of this habit in the earlier shields, but in the sixteenth century a craze for collecting quarterings seems to have set in, without reference apparently to any system whatever, the only point (so far as one can see) being to introduce as many as possible; and these moreover seem, in many cases anyhow, not to have been entire coats, but mere pickings—a buckle from this coat, a crescent from that, and so on.

For instance, the three Halero coats figured in this paper contain the following remarkable assortment of separate charges, apart from the Halero mount common to them all: one heart, one rose or cinquefoil, one crescent, one crown, two guttées, two stars, one clarion, one lion, one buckle, one cross engrailed, one cross plain. It is a most extraordinary collection to be culled from three contemporary coats, especially when one remembers that one of the armigers who used the guttée-star-lion collection was paternal uncle to the armiger who displayed the crescent-clarion-buckle-engrailed-cross assortment. No conceivable system could account for these two coats, and in confirmation of this it may be added that in an early seventeenth-century MS. at the Lyon office, the arms recognised as those of Halero were simply: argent, a mount vert.

Nor was this habit confined to the Haleros by any means. The coat of Edward Sinclair of Strome has already been noticed, and with it may be compared the arms of his grandson Edward Sinclair of Essenquoy on an early seventeenth-century panel.¹ One might be surprised elsewhere, but

¹ *Orkney Armorials*, p. 126, and pl. 34.

takes it as a matter of course in Orkney, to find that stars, guttée, and buckle have all gone out of favour and been replaced by the following combination: quarterly first and fourth, a lymphad; third, three escallops, 1 and 2; fourth, a coronet between three cinquefoils; over all a cross engrailed coupé (though possibly intended to divide the quarters).

These charges can fortunately be traced and may serve to throw some light on the method of collection in vogue. One and four was the ancient arms of the earldom, which this cadet branch (originally on the wrong side of the blanket) had no right to bear. In fact, the seals of Edward's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather are all extant and all without the lymphad. Three was the arms of his wife, which should of course have been impaled not quartered. Two evidently represented the escallops of his Dischington grandmother, divorced from their bend and rearranged, and even if they had been kept on their bend he had no recognised right to quarter them. Finally, on top of them all (or perhaps dividing them) was placed the only proper charge.

It must be remembered, however, that when we get back to the beginning of the sixteenth century and earlier than that, the heraldry becomes simple and straightforward and above suspicion. And this much can be said for the later variety, that whatever purely heraldic deterioration it may imply, it has the merit of suggesting a number of clues to marriage relationships and maternal descents. The genealogist certainly does not grudge the Halcros, for instance, one of their charges; he only wishes they had labelled them with the owner's name.

Another interesting feature of this collection of armorials, modest though it be, is the light it throws on the usage of arms by the Norse odal families; and as heraldry is so generally associated with feudalism, it may be worth while referring to it briefly.

Omitting for the moment the Scottish families settled at an early date in the islands, the native Orkney arms noticed in this paper are those of Paplay, Flett, Halcro, Skea, and Clouston, and very possibly of Rendall. If one adds to them the two seals appended by members of the Ireland family (one in 1369 and the other in 1584, both bearing a cross) and the seal of William Halcro of Aikers appended in 1584, which were described in the *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, all the armorial records of these purely odal and Norse families prior to the seventeenth century are included. It may also be mentioned that seals, now lost, are known to have been appended by Sigurd of Paplay in 1369, Peter of Paplay in 1422, Angus of Kirkness in 1426, and several members of the Halcro family in the sixteenth century, besides the instances of Kolbein Flett and Henry Rendall already mentioned.

In addition, three other apparently native families are known to have

borne arms in this period, the Magnusons or Mansons, Haraldsons, and Scollays; but the armigers were all leading citizens of Kirkwall, bailies or provosts, and apparently these families owned little odal property (so far at least as can be traced), and so it is perhaps safer to classify them separately.

Apart from them, the special feature of the other cases is the remarkable coincidence between a list of these families, known to have borne arms, or appended lost seals, at an early date, and a list of the families who by a very careful analysis of the earliest available records can be proved to have owned distinctly larger estates than the rest even of what were styled the "gentlemen uthellers." The existence of such larger land-owning families was alluded to before in the Introduction to the *Records*, and the gradual discovery of one coat of arms after another all confined to such families is decidedly suggestive. Making all allowances for the insufficient and fluky nature both of the land records and the armorial records available, which makes it impossible to say that either list is anything like a complete one, it nevertheless does seem as though the actual usage of arms must have been limited.

And by the words "actual usage" I am thinking of the curious paucity of seals in Orkney. For instance, in a Court of Arbitration held at Kirkwall in 1507-08, where the twelve arbiters were a selection of representative men of the time, we find ten of them with "na selis of thare awne present," though several are known to have been heads or leading members of arms-bearing families. And again, it has already been seen that the assizemen in 1584 had to have their seals specially made for them. This remarkable fact was alluded to in a note in the *Records*, and the explanation was suggested that some legislative enactment limited their use to certain seals which became, as it were, "legal tender"; but a simpler and, I think, more likely solution has since suggested itself.

All early Orkney deeds (with hardly an exception) were dated from Kirkwall, and Kirkwall in those days was a very important centre to find in such an out-of-the-way archipelago. It was the only town, a long-established town, and the seat both of an Earl and of a Bishop. A number of dignitaries, clerical and lay, could always be found there, armed with seals, and hence though seals elsewhere may possibly have been more numerous at an unrecorded date, they became unnecessary and ceased to be possessed by the average landowner. Anyhow, that seems a fairly plausible explanation; and some explanation is certainly required of such an odd circumstance as finding men like William Flett of Hobbister and John Irving of Sabay in 1507, and John Sinclair of Tolhop and Oliver Sinclair of Essenquoy in 1584, in the one case without seals,

and in the other having to get them manufactured, when the occasion in both instances was clearly one where seals would be required.

In Norway the case was very different. There, the collection of over 900 seals previous to 1378, reproduced in *Norske Sigiller*, shows the existence of many quasi-armorial devices (chiefly *fleur-de-lys*, or swords, or axes, and frequently borne on shields), the result—I think beyond doubt—of the extraordinary number of seals which it was the custom to append to every type of Norwegian document.

This dubious variety had, however, given place by the fifteenth century to frankly non-armorial seals, and it is a point to be noted that, from the latter part of the thirteenth century, the only true arms-bearing class in Norway was a strictly limited body. It consisted of the barons, knights, and “svende af vaaben” (armigers), who totalled in all about 300 in the year 1309, and formed the upper rank of the king’s “hird” (*i.e.* the whole body of his vassals, officials, and men-at-arms). By that period the whole conception of nobility had become confined to the hird, and the use of arms (or, at least, the admitted right to use them) to its upper rank.¹

In Orkney, the ancient earls also had their hird, which included certain greater vassals, or “gœðings,” and—as in Norway—the jarl’s “sveitarhöfðingjar” (captains of companies);² and in all probability one should look in this direction for the source of the early native armorials.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, when Earl Robert Stewart strove hard to feudalise Orkney and made many of the “gentlemen uthellars” attend the head courts as vassals owing suit and presence, it is likely enough that he enforced the Scottish enactment enjoining all freeholders to bring the “seals of their arms,” and new coats may have been devised at that time, or old coats revived.

One certainly finds a number of unexpected instances of arms-bearing and some unknown coats in the small seals affixed to seventeenth-century letters, and upon a few tombs of the same period. Unfortunately, however, about the end of that century a craze for sentimental or pictorial seals set in:—hearts pierced with arrows, groups of classical figures, little birds in a nest, or a hunting scene with hounds, fox, and horseman winding a horn. Even tombstones ceased to be armorial in the eighteenth century, so that a gap was caused in the tradition of arms, which in most cases it is now very hard to bridge.

In conclusion, I should like to express my great indebtedness to Mr A. O. Curle for his help in preparing the illustrations for this paper. Those of the slabs are all from rubbings, with the exception of fig. 8,

¹ See *Udsigt over den Norske Rets Historie* (Taranger), part ii, pp. 138-155, “Adelen.”

² See *Orkneyinga Saga* (Rolls edition), p. 227. These might either have been identical with the earl’s gœðings, or (on the analogy of Norway) have included other leaders of the hird.

which is from a photograph by Mr Kent. Of the seals, fig. 11 is from a photograph, and fig. 16 from a sketch. The others have been traced from the seals themselves, from casts, or from photographs by the use of very thin oiled paper, and are designed to show as exactly and distinctly as possible what is actually visible. They are intended, in fact, as works of reference, not of art.

III.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN SCOTLAND. BY GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D., F.S.A. SCOT.

In 1899 the first systematic endeavour to catalogue the discoveries of Roman coins in Scotland was made by Professor Haverfield in an appendix to the Glasgow Archæological Society's *Antonine Wall Report*. As a matter of course, his list included only those cases in which the descriptions of the coins and the places of discovery had been adequately recorded; mere vague statements were regarded as conveying no information of substantial value. The importance of this contribution to the history of Scotland during the Roman period was immediately recognised. It once for all established the fact, hitherto scarcely suspected, that the effective occupation of the country by the invaders had come to an end soon after the beginning of the reign of Commodus—that is, well before the close of the second century of our era. The result was a marked clearing of the air, a great simplification of the problem with which students of Roman Scotland have to deal. During the twenty years that have since elapsed, much fresh material has been brought to light. Most of it has passed through my own hands, and it is therefore not inappropriate that I should essay the compilation of the enlarged list, for which the time seems fully ripe. I have done so with the cordial concurrence of Professor Haverfield, who has kindly put at my disposal a few notes which he had himself made with an eye to a possible supplement. Other friends have shown themselves equally ready to assist. It must be admitted that the task has proved more serious than was originally anticipated, for no sooner had a beginning been made than it became evident that it was necessary, not merely to furnish an inventory of the fresh material that had accumulated, but to subject the earlier 'sources' to a critical examination. Further, it seemed desirable to try and see for oneself as many of the actual specimens as were accessible. The labour has not, I think, been in vain. It would be idle to hope that the new catalogue can be complete even as regards discoveries already

recorded; but it will, at least, save future investigators a certain amount of trouble. And here and there it may suggest historical deductions of some significance. Is it too much to hope that it will also bring home to all interested the need for keeping a careful account of discoveries yet to come? In addition to precise indications of locality and of any associated objects, such an account would contain full and accurate descriptions of every individual coin concerned, as well as a statement of its probable condition when it dropped out of circulation. This ideal may be unattainable, but it should never be lost sight of.

Before proceeding to discuss details, it will be useful to recapitulate the main principles that must govern the interpretation of the phenomena. At the outset the distinction between hoards and isolated finds should be firmly grasped. So far as is known, no really extensive hoard of Roman gold has ever been discovered in Scotland. Nor is this matter for surprise; the occupation of the country was a strictly military one. Hoards of Roman silver, on the other hand, have been fairly frequent, and it is almost always possible to fix the date of their burial within comparatively narrow limits. Each of them has been the owner's liquid balance at a given moment. That moment cannot have been earlier than the issue of the latest coin which the hoard contains. If the latest coin is in good condition, as if it were but recently struck, the problem is obviously simplified; silver circulated constantly and would soon begin to show signs of wear. Again, the absence of some very common coin may often serve as an index to the inferior limit. If the hoard be of any size, it might be expected to include examples of all pieces ordinarily current at the time it was hidden away. Accordingly, if a very common coin, later in date than the rest of the hoard, is entirely unrepresented, it is not unreasonable to argue that concealment must have taken place before that coin was in use. The date of a hoard of bronze can be determined in similar fashion. But what may we hope to learn from a hoard once its date has been approximately ascertained? Less, perhaps, than might at first be supposed. It does not even afford a guarantee of the former presence of the Romans in the district where it has been discovered. Tacitus tells us, in a well-known passage,¹ that Roman silver coins were used as money by some of the Central European peoples, whose territory lay beyond the boundaries of the empire; it was not so with gold, he adds, since individual pieces of the more precious metal would have been equivalent to a higher capital value than was suited to the requirements of a comparatively primitive society.² What he

¹ *Germania*, c. v.

² *Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla affectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilius usus est promiscuus et vilis mercantibus* (l.c.).

says has been amply confirmed by the finding of hoards of *denarii* in the very regions of which he is speaking. And the practice of Central Europe had its parallel in North Britain. In the sequel good grounds will be shown for accepting the conclusion long ago reached by Hector Boece, possibly under the direct inspiration of Tacitus, with whose works he seems to have been familiar. After attributing the institution of a Scottish coinage to Donald, he continues, in the quaint language of Bellenden's translation:¹ "The Scottis usit na money, but marchandice, quhen they interchangeit with Britonis and Romanis, afore thir dayis; except it war money of the said Romanis or Britonis; as may be previt by sindry auld hurdis and treasouris, found in divers partis of Scotland, with uncouth cunye."

The occurrence of hoards in any particular district is not, therefore, in itself a proof of former Roman occupation. Their true significance must be sought in another direction. The Digest² declares that the ancients buried their money "*vel lucri causa, vel metus, vel custodiæ.*" But, while the motives prompting to concealment may have varied, the failure to recover admits of but one explanation—a sudden and final severance of the owner's connexion with the spot where his property had been hidden away. Great wars or prolonged periods of internal disturbance would inevitably leave their mark on a country in the shape of numerous unclaimed deposits within the area affected. Thus, if we take the finds of Roman coins in France, where the lists are more complete than elsewhere, the result is very striking.³ During the reigns when Gaul was, to our positive knowledge, secure and settled, the unclaimed deposits sink to a minimum. Vespasian, for example, was emperor for ten years, and that decade has but a single hoard to its credit. Similarly, there are only two hoards that can be assigned to the thirteen years of Claudius. Again, the reign of Augustus lasted for over forty years, and yet it accounts for no more than eight hoards in all. Contrast with these figures the one hundred and sixty-four hoards that fall within the few brief years covered by the reigns of Gallienus and Postumus, when Gaul was ravaged alternately by civil war and by the inroads of Frankish invaders. The moral as regards Scotland is plain. So soon as we have got an approximate date for a hoard, and still more for a group of hoards, we must see whether history has anything to tell of wars or tumults, with which the abandonment of the deposits might reasonably be connected.

¹ Ed. 1821, i. p. 195.

² 41. 1. 31. 1.

³ The figures here given are taken from J. A. Blanchet's *Les trésors de monnaies romaines et les invasions germaniques en Gaule* (Paris, Leroux, 1900). Although numerous hoards have come to light within the past eighteen years, it seemed hardly worth while attempting to bring the statistics up to date; the margin is so great that the general conclusion could not possibly be affected.

If we turn from hoards to isolated finds, a more promising field of inquiry is at once presented. Here too, however, caution is called for. It is, to begin with, a question of locality. A stray discovery, such as that of a gold coin of Alexander the Great in the bed of a Dumfriesshire stream,¹ proves nothing. There are a thousand and one chances by which such a portable object might have made its way to this strange resting-place; we cannot decide between them, and can therefore draw no conclusions. On the other hand, the collation of a series of isolated finds from any particular area, large or small, may be highly instructive. Thus, if specimens are picked up in and about a site that bears indubitable marks of early occupation, the presumption is that they were there because they had been casually dropped by the former inhabitants. If the settlement has been a native one, we are entitled to argue that the Caledonians, like their Continental contemporaries whom Tacitus describes, acquired from the Romans, not merely the habit of using coined money, but also the very pieces which they employed for the purpose. Further, when rightly read, the evidence thus gathered may give serviceable clues for dating, and so provide links between archæology and history. Its right reading, however, depends upon a variety of considerations. These apply more forcibly to coins discovered upon sites definitely known to be Roman than to those dug up with the débris of native settlements. In the case of the latter we have no means of gauging with accuracy the length of time that would be required for the process of filtration across the frontier, and consequently we can only venture on chronological deductions of a rather general kind. Inside a Roman fort we are on safer ground, and can afford to be more precise, so long as we pay due heed to the considerations just alluded to, the chief of which are as follows.

If a coin shows distinct signs of wear, we may assume that it has been in circulation for a considerable time before it was lost. But we must be careful not to rush too hastily to the opposite conclusion, merely because it seems to have been fresh from the mint. This is specially true of gold. It is quite possible that an isolated gold piece, which has all the look of having been recently struck, may have been in reality twenty, fifty, or a hundred years old when it parted company with the last of its ancient owners, the interval being spent in some receptacle as part of a stock of bullion. Accordingly, gold is apt to be less helpful from this particular point of view than one might be tempted to think, although even gold may be made the basis of inferences, provided the number of examples is sufficiently large to eliminate the

¹ See the description of the parish of Hoddam (1834) in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, iv. ("Dumfriesshire") pp. 292 f.

possibilities of error. If, on the other hand, the latest members of a series are of silver or of bronze, and if they are consistently unworn, the likelihood is that the date of their issue is an index to the date of the abandonment of the fort. And, as between these two metals, the advantage rests with bronze; it is a more reliable guide to the *terminus ad quem*. While money of all kinds undoubtedly took a little time to make its way to the outskirts of the empire, there is evidence to prove that 'brass' travelled more rapidly than silver.¹

The choice of an approximate *terminus a quo* is a far more troublesome matter, since ancient coins often remained in circulation for many years after their original issue. Here again bronze is, on the whole, the safest guide, although even bronze cannot be trusted to bring us very near the end for which we are in search, seeing that Roman 'brass' not seldom enjoyed a far longer life than its modern counterparts. Issues of Nero and of Claudius have been found associated in hoards with issues of Marcus Aurelius, who reigned more than a century later.² A Roman 'brass' piece might thus have attained to quite a respectable age before it was carried across the Tweed at all. Silver may be still more misleading. In the main this is the result of what may fairly be called two curious freaks of currency. Owing apparently to its superior quality, silver, minted while Rome was still a republic, continued to circulate in the frontier provinces for more than a century after the establishment of the empire. *Denarii* between two and three hundred years old seem to have been in everyday use as late as the Flavian era, although there is reason to believe that they vanished soon afterwards. So prolonged a defiance of Gresham's Law is not easy to account for, except on the hypothesis that the good money was habitually accepted at a slight premium.³ The explanation of the second abnormality is very different. The legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony were so heavily alloyed that the progressive deterioration which set in under Nero had to run its course for well over a hundred years before the regular imperial issues touched the same depth of degradation. They are associated in hoards with coins struck at the close of the second century of our era; in the interval it had not been worth the while of any government to call them in.⁴ *Denarii* of Mark Antony might therefore have been lost in Scotland at any time up to the end of the reign of Commodus or even later. In other words, found within a Roman fort they tell us nothing more than that the site was probably in Roman occupation prior to about 200 A.D. Republican *denarii*, it will be observed,

¹ See Dragendorff in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxiii, p. 240.

² Cf. the hoard from Croydon, described in *Num. Chron.*, 1907, pp. 353 ff.

³ See Haverfield in *Archæologia*, liv, 489 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*

are distinctly more informing. Inasmuch as they disappeared from circulation soon after the Flavian era, their significance is much the same as that attaching to freshly minted silver or 'brass' of the reign of Domitian. They suggest a first-century settlement.

And in dealing with Roman Scotland indications of this sort are singularly helpful. Scanty as is the light that written record throws upon the exact course of events, it is still sufficient to show that there are three periods on which attention should be concentrated. The first opened with the invasion of Agricola about 80 A.D. If we could take quite literally the "*perdomita Britannia et statim missa*" of Tacitus,¹ we should believe that it ended with his recall three or four years later. On such a point, however, the historian is hardly an impartial witness; his devotion to his father-in-law's memory may have prompted him to use the language of exaggeration. Here, therefore, the archaeological evidence, if we can read its meaning, becomes specially important. The second period began in the reign of Antoninus Pius and lasted, as we know from the coins,² until Commodus was on the throne; its most notable monument was the Wall between the Forth and Clyde, built about 142 A.D. and garrisoned more or less continuously for the four decades that followed. Lastly, very early in the third century we have the intervention of Septimius Severus; his northern expedition occupies a large space on the canvases of Herodian and Cassius Dio, albeit the imposing picture they draw of his achievements has so far met with scant confirmation at the hands of archæology. Such are the broad outlines of the historical scheme to which the mass, at all events, of the numismatic data may be expected to conform, and which it may be hoped they will help to illuminate.

Compared with the chronological framework, the geographical one is of secondary importance. Nevertheless it may be instructive to try and group the coins according to the localities in which they have been found, in so far as these localities lie within certain well-defined areas in which the former presence of the Romans has been conclusively established. In southern Scotland two main routes can be traced. The more easterly of these crossed the Cheviots, passed the Tweed at Newstead, made its way over Soutra Hill to Inveresk, and reached the sea at Cramond. The landmarks on the western road are fewer, and its course correspondingly more doubtful. But the position of the forts of Birrens, near Hoddam, and of Castledykes, near Carstairs, affords good reason for believing that it ran through Annandale and Clydesdale at no great distance from the track now followed by the Caledonian Railway. The isthmus, with the Wall and its 'stations,' can most

¹ *Histories*, i. 2.

² See *supra*, p. 203.

conveniently be regarded as an area apart. Beyond the isthmus the line of advance was by Camelon and Ardoch to the Earn and the Tay, and thence north-eastwards through the shires of Forfar and Kincardine into Aberdeen. If a map of Roman Scotland could be constructed with any approach to completeness, it would doubtless show, especially in the southern counties, a far more elaborate network of communications than the bare outline that has just been sketched. Our knowledge, however, is as yet so fragmentary that for the present we shall do well to be content with the outline, bare as it is. Anything Roman lying outside can be dealt with as it arises.

Some of the authorities to be referred to will have to be cited so often that a good deal of footnote space will be saved by a list of abbreviations:—

- Coh.² = H. Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, 2nd edition (1880-1892).
 Smellie = W. Smellie, *Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, part i. (1782) and part ii. (1784).
 Arch. Scot. = *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. ii. (1822), vol. iii. (1831), and vol. v. (1890).
 Proc. = *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.
 O.S.A. = Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791-1799).
 N.S.A. = *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1845). The different counties are separately paged even where two or three are bound together in one volume, and the account of each parish is, as a rule, separately dated.
 Sibbald = Sir R. Sibbald, *Historical Inquiries* (1707).
 Gordon = Alexander Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1727).
 Horsley = John Horsley, *Britannia Romana* (1732).
 Pennant = Thomas Pennant, *Tour in Scotland* (ed. 1776).
 Chalmers = G. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. i. (1807).
 Lindsay = J. Lindsay, *View of the Coinage of Scotland* (1845), with two Supplements (1859 and 1868).
 Stuart = R. Stuart, *Caledonia Romana*, 2nd edition (1852).
 Buchanan = Notes by the late Dr John Buchanan, chiefly on the margin of his copy of the preceding, now in the Library of the MSS. Glasgow Archæological Society.
 Haverfield = Glasgow Archæological Society's *Antonine Wall Report* (1899).

As hoards may be expected to yield one kind of lesson, and isolated finds another, it is clearly desirable that the two should be catalogued separately. And for various reasons it will be best to begin with the isolated finds, arranging them in four groups according to the associations in which they have occurred, and at the same time having regard to the geographical framework outlined above. In an ideal list the different metals, if not also the different denominations, would be classified apart. Unfortunately no such completeness is attainable here. The records are too imperfect. Wherever possible, however, the metal will be mentioned, gold being indicated by *Æ*, silver by *℞*, and 'brass' by *℔*.

(A) ISOLATED FINDS FROM ROMAN SITES.

(a) *South-Eastern Scotland.*

CAPPUCK.—The pottery associated with the site proves that this small post was occupied both under Agricola and under Pius. Of the 13 coins discovered, 2 were found in 1892 and the remainder in the course of the excavations of 1911-12. For a detailed catalogue see *Proc.*, xlv. pp. 470 ff. The following is a summary:—Vespasian (2 *AR* and 2 *Æ*), Titus (1 *Æ*), Domitian (1 *AR*), Trajan (3 *Æ*), Hadrian (2 *AR* and 1 *Æ*), Faustina Senior (1 *AR*). None of the first-century pieces is in sufficiently good preservation to justify us in ruling out the possibility of its having been dropped during the second century. So far as the coins are concerned, therefore, it is only for the Antonine period that the evidence of occupation is conclusive.

NEWSTEAD.—Mr James Curle's excavations have put it beyond doubt that Trimontium, as the Roman station here would seem to have been called, was held in strength during the Agricolan period, as well as during the years that followed the reconquest of southern Scotland by Pius. The first writer to draw attention to the finding of Roman remains in the neighbourhood was the Rev. Adam Milne who, in his *History of the Parish of Melrose* (1743), speaking of coins, refers (p. 44) to "several Roman Medals or Coins . . . some of Gold, some of Silver, and of Brass, as of *Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and Constantine.*" No further details are available. A much fuller record of similar discoveries, made more than a hundred years later, is given in *Proc.*, i. pp. 34 ff. and v. p. 108 by Dr J. A. Smith. The number was largely added to when the site was systematically searched in 1905 and subsequent years. The coins then found, and also those recorded by Dr Smith, are catalogued in an Appendix to Mr Curle's *Roman Frontier Post* (pp. 385 ff.). Since that catalogue was printed, two *Æ* coins previously set aside as indecipherable have been recognised as of Trajan and Faustina Junior respectively. Two *denarii* of Hadrian from Newstead have moreover come to light among the papers of Mr Curle's late father, one being *Coh.*², ii. p. 136, No. 353, and the other (which is a fragment) probably *Coh.*², ii. p. 197, No. 1099.

The inclusion of the four pieces just mentioned brings the total number of definitely identified specimens up to 262, distributed thus:—Republican *AR* (9), *AR* of M. Antony (8), Augustus (1 *AR* and probably 1 *Æ*), Tiberius (1 *AR*), Nero (2 *AR*, 1 *AR*, and 2 *Æ*), Galba (2 *AR*), Otho (1 *AR*), Vitellius (1 *AR*), Vespasian (22 *AR* and 28 *Æ*), Titus (1 *AR*, 2 *AR*, and 10 *Æ*), Domitian (12 *AR* and 25 *Æ*), uncertain Flavian (2 *Æ*), Nerva

(3 *A* and 1 *E*), Trajan (1 *A*, 15 *A*, and 27 *E*), Hadrian (24 *A* and 27 *E*), Sabina (2 *E*), Pius (1 *A*, 6 *A*, and 7 *E*), Faustina Senior (4 *A* and 6 *E*), Marcus (1 *A* and 2 *E*), Faustina Junior (1 *A* and 4 *E*), Crispina (1 *A*). The gold coins are all among those described by Dr J. A. Smith in *Proc.* The only one of them whose whereabouts is known (*Proc.*, v. p. 108)—one of the two of Nero—is now in the Edinburgh Museum; it is in very good condition. The list, as a whole, is much the longest of any we possess from Scottish sites; and its significance is unmistakable. The presence of consular *denarii* points plainly to the first century. The very large proportion of Flavian ‘brass’ confirms the indication, particularly as two of the ‘second brass’ coins of Domitian must have been almost in mint condition when lost. These were both of 86 A.D., and thus prove conclusively that the fort must have been held by the Romans for at least two years after Agricola’s recall. At the other extreme there is no lack of second-century pieces, down to and including the reign of Commodus. The testimony of the coins is in absolute agreement with that of the pottery. It connects Newstead both with Agricola and with Pius.

It will be remembered that Constantine is one of the emperors mentioned by Milne. Further, Dr J. A. Smith’s list included (*Proc.*, i. pp. 36 ff.) Victorinus (1 *E*), Diocletian (1 *E*), Carausius (1 *E*), Galerius Maximianus (1 *E*), and Constantine (4 *E*), these being, as he gives us to understand, only a selection from a number of similar pieces which he had seen. At the first blush the evidence for an occupation of Trimontium about 330 A.D. seems strong. On the other hand, such a theory is totally inadmissible in face of the fact that throughout the whole of Mr Curle’s most careful excavations not a single coin or other object of third or fourth century date emerged. The simplest explanation of the apparent contradiction is to suppose that Milne’s Constantine was a straggler, to be classed with other stragglers of the same period from various parts of the country, and that the corresponding pieces noted by Smith represent one of those hoards of late ‘brass’ whose sporadic occurrence in Scotland we shall have occasion to refer to by and by. If this be so, it is not difficult to account for the solitary example of Tetricus Senior (*A*), which was handed over to the Exchequer in 1863 along with a hoard of billon placks from Newstead (*Proc.*, v. p. 107). It was probably a chance survivor from the earlier find.

CRICHTON.—This site lies on a broad shelf, well down the long slope that descends towards the north from the summit of Soutra Hill. It commands a most extensive view. In the immediate foreground is a series of low undulations through which the Tyne and the Esk force

their way to the sea. Beyond is the plain of the Lothians, guarded on the north-west by the Pentlands, with Arthur's Seat as their sentinel. No traces of the Roman road are now discernible in the neighbourhood, nor is there any record of their ever having been observed later than the twelfth century, when Derestrete appears in a charter of King Malcolm in a context which brings it quite close to Dalkeith.¹ At the same time the evidence for a Roman station at Crichton, if tantalisingly indefinite, is still sufficiently substantial to be convincing. The so-called 'Roman camp' at Longfaugh is a circular enclosure, obviously of native construction. But in a field immediately to the north of it, on the shelf already mentioned, there was discovered in 1869 a 'weem' or 'earth-house,' the builders of which had made liberal use of stones dressed by Roman masons. In the original account of the opening up of this underground chamber the number of such stones is put at "about thirty" (*Proc.*, viii. p. 108). The estimate is too modest. In 1913, when the earth-house was carefully examined by the staff of the Ancient Monuments Commission, the total rose to between forty and fifty. It is extremely improbable that all this material was conveyed to the spot from a distance. On the contrary, the likelihood is that the position of the later building was determined by the proximity of the ruins which were pillaged during its erection. The situation of the Roman fort may therefore be regarded as approximately known.

Arch. Scot., iii., App. ii. p. 50 records that on November 14, 1785, Mr George Cairncross presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland "Twelve Ancient Roman Bronze Coins of the Emperors Domitian, Antoninus, Gratian, Magnentius, Constantine, Gallienus, Licinius, Tetricus, Posthumus, Victorinus, and Claudius, found in a Roman encampment on the estate of Crichton-dean, in the parish of Crichton." The "Roman encampment" is obviously the circular enclosure at Longhaugh. But the word "in" need not be taken too literally; popular report would be quick to transfer to the interior any finds from the immediate neighbourhood. For reasons to be explained in the sequel,² we are justified in looking on the coins of the later emperors as representing a hoard. Those of Domitian and Pius, on the other hand, are precisely what we should expect to find on any abandoned Roman site in Scotland. And their testimony does not stand quite alone. Fifteen or twenty years ago Professor Oman and our Fellow Mr David MacRitchie saw in the hands of Miss Pringle, sister of the tenant of Crichton House, several

¹ The passage is quoted *in extenso* in Curle's *Roman Frontier Post*, pp. 14 f.

² See *infra*, p. 272.

Roman coins which had been picked up on the farm, quite close (they understood) to the earth-house. Professor Oman states that, so far as his recollection goes, they were "all of the Trajan-Hadrian period." No further details regarding them are now available.¹

INVERESK.—The next station to Crichton on the line of the Roman road may very possibly have been at Inveresk, which lies some eight miles further north. Various Roman remains, including an altar dedicated to Apollo Grannus, came to light here in 1565, and other discoveries of a similar character have been made at intervals since. The coins recorded from the site are six in number—a Trajan (*Δ*) and a Faustina (*ΔE*), found in 1783 (*O.S.A.*, xvi. p. 5, and *Arch. Scot.*, ii. p. 161); a Vespasian (*Δ*), found in 1827 (Moir, *Roman Antiquities of Inveresk*, p. 13); a second Trajan (*ΔR*), presented to the National Museum in 1865 (*Proc.*, vi. p. 113); a third Trajan (*ΔE*), found in 1878 and presented to the National Museum (*Proc.*, xiii. p. 74 and p. 271); and a Hadrian (*ΔR*), presented to the National Museum at some date unknown. So small a collection of material leaves but scant room for inferences. All it proves is that Inveresk was occupied during the Antonine period.

CRAMOND.—The Roman fort at Cramond was some twelve miles beyond Inveresk. It is possible that there was an intermediate station, although Sir Daniel Wilson's attempt to make out a case for Edinburgh (*Proc.*, xix. 205²) can hardly be called convincing. If there was such a station, it would probably be a small one, for Cramond itself was unquestionably very important, as is clear from the extent and character of the remains that have been from time to time brought to the surface by the hand of chance. The writers of the early eighteenth century are enthusiastic over the rich finds of Roman coins. Sir John Clerk had married Janet, daughter of Sir John Inglis, the laird, and had acquired through his father-in-law as many as "forty or fifty." These, as well as others, had been seen and examined by Gordon and Horsley; the former (p. 116) speaks of "an incredible Quantity of *Roman Coins* of Gold, Silver, and Brass, of all sorts," and the latter (p. 205) of "abundance of medals." Some details have been noted. Sibbald, for instance, mentions (pp. 16 and 33) an *aureus* of Caracalla. But by far the fullest catalogue is Gordon's. After describing a "large Brass Coin of the Emperor

¹ Two or three weeks before this paper was read, I succeeded in getting into communication with Miss Pringle, then an old lady of 92. She retained all her faculties, and was most anxious to see me and give me full information about the coins. On the very morning arranged for my visit I received a telegram advising me that she had been taken seriously ill. She died a few days later.

² And in more detail in *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 1st ed., pp. 384 ff.

Claudius," which the figure given in his "Plate of Medals and Intaglios" shows to have been Coh.², i. pp. 254 f., No. 48, he proceeds (p. 117):—

"At this Place was found a well preserved Gold Medal of *Antoninus Pius* [now in the Custody of the same Baron] as is also that invaluable Medal of *Severus*, supposed to be coined on the Peace with the *Caledonians*: the others, dug up at this Station, in the Baron's Collection, are one of *C. Augustus, Divi Filius*. Reverse *Pon-Max*; 5 of *Trajan*, 5 of *Hadrian*, 2 of *Vespasian*, 2 of *Nerva*, 2 of *Antoninus Pius*, one of *Galba*, one of *Nero*, one of *Julia*, one of *Domitian*, another of *Severus*, with this Reverse, *Felicitas Augustorum*; one of *Octavianus Augustus*; one of *Claudius*; one of *Antoninus Augustus*, which I take to be *Caracalla*; another of the same, with this Reverse, *Moneta Augusti*; another of *Antoninus*, without a beard, the Reverse two Hands joining; there are besides six Consular Medals."

These particulars, interesting as they are, are not sufficient to enable any one of the pieces to be identified with absolute certainty, unless it be the two coins of *Severus*, which seem to correspond to Coh.², iv. p. 25, Nos. 203 ff., and p. 18, No. 135 respectively. But they form the staple of such subsequent accounts as make any pretence to completeness. Horsley (p. 205) supplements them by a Diocletian from the collection of Lord Rutherglen, "with a *Genius* on the reverse, and this inscription, GENIO POPVLI ROMANI: which serves to show that the Romans were late possessed of this station." Again, Maitland, in his *History of Scotland* (1757), i. 203, speaks of "a medal of *Faustina*, consort to *M. Antoninus*," and also tells of the discovery of "divers Roman coins," with other remains, in 1748 "in the grounds of the incumbent's glebe." On the other hand, the list printed by Wood in his *Parish of Cramond* (1794), pp. 4 f., contains no name unrecorded by his predecessors, except that of *Julia Domna*, and even she is a novelty only on the assumption that the "*Julia*" of Gordon was a first-century lady. Chalmers and Stuart add even less to our knowledge. Very notable, however, is the mention by Haverfield (p. 162) of an *aureus* of *Geta*. According to a jotting which I have found among my father's papers, and which must have been written about 1898, "this very fine coin was dug up in the churchyard a few years ago and purchased for the National Museum, Edinburgh, for £7." It is Coh.², iv. p. 254, No. 11, and is in excellent preservation, almost as if fresh from the mint.

An unexpected measure of success has attended personal inquiries recently made upon the spot. Mr Lumley, innkeeper, showed me two *denarii* from the churchyard—one of *Galba*, much worn but apparently of the DIVA AVGVSTA type (Coh.², i. p. 322, No. 51, etc.), and the other a *Faustina Junior* (Coh.², iii. p. 152, No. 190) in very fair

condition. At the same time Mrs Callander of Cramond House kindly allowed me to examine a small collection, composed of coins that had been dug up in the garden and grounds at intervals throughout a long series of years. They numbered twenty-seven in all, and constitute a highly interesting group, including twenty-five *denarii* and two 'second brass':—1 *Æ* of Claudius (Coh.², i. p. 257, No. 84); 1 *R* of Vespasian (Coh.², i. p. 384, No. 226); 1 *R* of Titus (Coh.², i. p. 434, No. 67); 3 *R* of Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 20, No. 26, and p. 26, Nos. 74 and 77); 6 *R* of Hadrian (Coh.², ii. p. 114, No. 104¹; p. 120, No. 188; p. 168, No. 717; p. 171, No. 762; p. 204, No. 1174; and p. 216, No. 1336); 2 *R* of Antoninus Pius (Coh.², ii. p. 314, No. 463. and a variety² not included in Coh.²); 1 *R* of Faustina Senior (Coh.², ii. p. 430, No. 219); 1 *R* of Marcus Aurelius (Coh.², iii. p. 91 f., No. 924); 1 *R* of Faustina Junior (Coh.², iii. p. 138, No. 24); 1 *Æ* of Lucilla (Coh.², iii. p. 217, No. 33); 4 *R* of Septimius Severus (Coh.², iv. p. 21, No. 154; p. 50, No. 475; p. 63, No. 599; and p. 68, No. 652); 2 *R* of Julia Domna (Coh.², iv. p. 119, No. 174, and p. 123, No. 218)³; 1 *R* of Plautilla (Coh.², iv. p. 248, No. 21); and 2 *R* of Geta (different varieties of Coh.², iv. p. 270, No. 157). The latest coin which can be precisely dated is the first of those of Septimius Severus; it was struck in A.D. 211. The *Æ* of Lucilla is in 'poor' condition. The majority of the other pieces range from 'fair' to 'very fair.' But two of Hadrian, two of Septimius Severus, and one of Julia Domna may be described as 'good,' while the other of Julia Domna, the one of Plautilla, and the two of Geta deserve to rank as 'very good.'

Lack of detail regarding the earlier finds makes a proper summary impossible. But a bare enumeration of the names involved will so far serve our purpose. In addition to Republican *R*, Cramond has yielded coins of the following emperors and empresses:—Augustus, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Pius, Faustina Senior, Marcus, Faustina Junior, Lucilla, Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Plautilla, and Geta. This is a remarkable list, for each of our three historical periods seems to be well represented. The consular *denarii* are distinctly suggestive of Agricola, and with their support the coin or coins of Augustus and the *Æ* of Claudius may be attributed to the same epoch. A second-century settlement is, of course, amply vouched for. But so too is an occupation under Septimius Severus. The last point is of special interest, as no analogous evidence has yet been recovered from any

¹ The emperor, however, appears to be bareheaded.

² The Obv. is as on Coh.², ii. p. 358, No. 919, while the Rev. reads TR POT COS IIII round the type of Salus seated as on Coh.², ii. p. 359, No. 929.

³ Though not mentioned by Cohen, a Cupid supports a shield at Venus's feet.

other Scottish site. It will have been observed that the list given above took no account of Horsley's Diocletian. The omission was deliberate. Like Milne's Constantine at Newstead, the Diocletian at Cramond was in all likelihood a straggler. It is true that some years ago I saw in the hands of a third party two coins of Constantine the Younger that were said by their owner to have been found in the neighbourhood of Cramond. But, even if they came from the interior of the fort itself, they would not be sufficient to confirm Horsley's inference as to the presence of a Roman garrison in the third or fourth century. Inhabitation of some sort at that time is probable enough on *a priori* grounds, but there is no need to suppose that the inhabitants were Romans, seeing that (as we shall learn by and by) Constantinian coins circulated freely among the natives.

LYNE.—The fort at Lyne does not belong to the same sequence as those with which we have been dealing, and yet its connexion with them is very real. Its position is most easily understood, if it be regarded as the solitary survivor of a chain of posts whose purpose was to maintain cross-country communication through the hills between the two trunk-routes from south to north. The excavations of 1900 produced but few relics, and among these there was none for which a second-century date would have been inappropriate. The coins, which were only two in number, were no exception. They were of Titus (*Æ*) and of Trajan (*Æ*), and are described in *Proc.*, xxxv. p. 186.

(b) *South-Western Scotland.*

BIRRENSWARK.—The results of the exploration of this site in 1898 were less conclusive than might have been hoped for, but were still sufficient to establish an association with the Romans. Conspicuous among the small number of objects recovered were sixty-seven *glandes* or sling-bullets of lead (*Proc.*, xxxiii. p. 246). As such *glandes* ceased to be used in the Roman army about the end of the first century of our era, it has been inferred¹ that the earthworks were of Agricolan date, a conclusion that had long ago commended itself to Gordon (pp. 16 ff.) on very different grounds. No coins were noted during the excavations. But Gordon (p. 184) has preserved the memory of a chance discovery made about 1727:—

“ Four Roman Medals of *Silver* have been lately found in the camp of *Burnswark*, viz. one of *Nero*, two of *Trajan*, and one of *Vespasian*, which were sent up to the Society of *British Antiquaries*, by the ingenious Mr *Richard Goodman* of *Carlisle*: I have exhibited them in my Plate of Medals, Number V., XII., XVI. and XVII.: These plainly confirm

¹ *Quarterly Review*, 1899, p. 376.

my former Assertion, in *Chap. II. Page 16. 17. and 18.* That *Burnswark* was a *Roman* Encampment; nor can the Coin [*sic*] of *Trajan*. there found, destroy my Conjecture of its being a Work of *Agricola*: for, as I have already shew'd, in my Account of *Middleby*. the *Romans*. in their several Marches, often made use of their old Camps. which is the Reason why so many Medals of succeeding Emperors. are frequently dug up in Forts. made some Ages before."

Gordon's illustrations prove that the coins in question were Coh.², i. p. 296, No. 258, and p. 371, No. 43; and Coh.², ii. p. 27, No. 85, and p. 28, No. 98. It seemed desirable to quote the paragraph *in extenso*, partly because, being in an Appendix, it has hitherto been very generally overlooked, and partly because it shows that Gordon was faced by exactly the same difficulty as confronts a modern inquirer. If the earthworks are of Agricolan date, how is the presence of coins of Trajan to be explained? On the assumption that the occupation which Agricola began was brought to an end by his own recall in 84 A.D., the solution that Gordon propounds is the only one that is admissible. There is, however, another hypothesis which will demand serious consideration later. May it not be that the so-called 'Agricolan' occupation was prolonged into the reign of Trajan?

BIRRENS.—Whatever be the truth as to Birrenswark, it is not open to doubt that Birrens, or Blatobulgium as the Romans called it, was in the main, if not entirely, a second-century fort. The testimony of the pottery is not to be gainsaid, even if it were not confirmed by the dated inscription. The same tale is told by the coins that were recovered during the excavations of 1895. The list of these given in *Proc.* (xxx. p. 199) calls for rectification in one particular. The *denarius* which is there tentatively assigned to Marcus Aurelius, really belongs to Nerva, being a somewhat defaced example of Coh.², ii. p. 7, No. 59.¹ The catalogue as amended is therefore:—*R* of M. Antony (2), Domitian (1 *AR*), Nerva (1 *AR*), Trajan (2 *AE*), Hadrian (1 *AR* and 1 *AE*), and Pius (1 *AR* and 2 *AE*). Its second-century complexion is obvious, and the point need not be further laboured. More discussion is required in the case of the only two coins that are specifically mentioned by the older writers as having been found at Birrens.

The first is a 'second brass' of Germanicus, the nephew of Tiberius, which must have been struck in his lifetime and is therefore earlier than A.D. 19. Regarding this, Sir John Clerk, writing to Roger Gale on May 9, 1737, says:—"Near the camp of Middleby, where my statue of Brigantia was found, some silver and brass coins have been

¹ Or possibly of No. 66 or No. 71, which differ only in the details of the Obv. inscription from No. 59 and from one another. The majority of the other coins are in such poor condition that it is not possible to identify the Rev. types. The *denarius* of Domitian, however, is Coh.², i. p. 474, No. 47.

dug up, but they are either defaced or common, except one of Germanicus in bronze.”¹ The description that follows, though it confuses the two sides of the coin and is inaccurate as regards both size and inscription, is sufficiently intelligible to enable the piece to be identified as Coh.², i. pp. 225 f., No. 7, which has on the reverse the legend SIGNIS RECEPT DEVICTIS GERM, and which was accordingly struck in honour of the victory of A.D. 16. On the general principles laid down above, it would be difficult to accept the view that a bronze coin minted between A.D. 16 and A.D. 19 could have been in ordinary circulation a hundred and twenty years later. The likelihood that its loss should be associated with the Agricolan period is very much greater. On the other hand, taken by itself, it cannot be looked upon as proof of a first-century occupation of the site. It is perhaps worth observing that Sir John Clerk does not say it was found among the ruins. “Near the camp” is an expression vague enough to cover a tolerably wide area.

The second coin, although it has attracted a much larger measure of attention, can be disposed of more satisfactorily. We hear of it first through Gordon (p. 18). In his account of Middleby, which was the name used by him and his contemporaries for Birrens, he describes “a large Vault, arch’d with Stone,” which ran “a great way along the South Side of this Fort,” and then proceeds:—

“Near this, to the West, are the Marks of Stone Buildings, where several *Roman* Coins have been found. Mr *Maxwell* of *Middleby* made a Present of a Gold Medal of *Constantius Chlorus*, dug up here, to my worthy Patron Baron *Clark*, which I copied, and have exhibited in the Plate of Medals, Figure IV. The Legend, on one Side, was very plain, but the Reverse had no Inscription nor Figure upon it at all. This, being of the *Low Empire*, makes me conjecture, that, notwithstanding the Fort might have been built by *Agricola*, by way of an exploratory *Castellum* to the noble Camp of *Burnswark*: yet the succeeding *Romans* afterwards possessed themselves thereof, in their other Attempts to subdue *Scotland*.”

A coin of Constantius Chlorus would bring us down to the beginning of the fourth century of our era, and the appearance of such a piece at Birrens has not unnaturally been claimed by others than Gordon as affording presumptive proof of a late occupation. At first sight it looks as if the case was strengthened by Pennant (ii. p. 102), who speaks of “coins found, some of them of the lower empire.” But, if the paragraph be read as a whole, the probability suggests itself that the “some” is a mere echo of the Constantius Chlorus, of which Pennant knew, it may be through Gordon (*l.c.*) or it may be through

¹ *Stukeley's Letters* (Surtees Society), iii. p. 410.

Horsley (p. 115). Haverfield (p. 159) was inclined to associate "glass of Constantinian style" and "a few fragments of architectural work" with the Chlorus. But glass of a similar kind has since come to light in circumstances which date it to the first or second century,¹ and the architectural fragments are wholly outweighed by the fragments of the dedicatory inscription. The position in which the latter were found makes it certain that the fort was never rebuilt after its destruction about A.D. 180.² Even the evidence of the Constantius Chlorus melts away upon closer analysis. From what Gordon says in his text it is clear that there was something peculiar about the coin: the reverse was absolutely smooth, showing neither type nor inscription. An examination of his plate reveals the further fact that at the edge, immediately above the emperor's head, a small ring had been soldered on for suspension. Sir John Clerk accounted for this feature by supposing that the coin had once been "hung by way of *bullæ*" (Horsley, p. 341). The true explanation is that, like so many other ancient coins, it had been worn as an amulet. The smoothness of the reverse is, therefore, due to the constant rubbing to which it had been subjected. Such complete obliteration must have meant many years of friction. Thus the chances are that the coin was not lost until long after the Romans had quitted Britain for good. In any event, it was not in circulation when it was dropped, and it has therefore no necessary connection with the presence of the Romans at Blatobulgium. We may set it aside altogether, noting only that it ultimately passed into the Pembroke Collection (Horsley, *l.c.*).

CASTLEDYKES.—Except Birrens, Castledykes is the only station on the western road that has been definitely identified. It is situated within the policies of Carstairs House, and is fairly well preserved, although one side seems to have suffered considerably since the plan was laid down by Roy in 1753. No systematic excavation has ever taken place. Nevertheless the true character of the site is beyond question. In 1916 a hole, dug at my suggestion at a selected spot within the enclosure, produced, at a depth of three or four feet, fragments of pottery which were recognised by Mr A. O. Curle and myself as indubitably Roman. The eighteenth-century writers speak of coins. Thus Gough's *Camden* (1st ed., iii. p. 343; 2nd ed., iv. p. 82) says:—"At this place and neighbourhood many Roman bricks and coins have been dug up at different periods. Among the latter, which I have seen, are those of Nero, Trajan, the empress Faustina and Germanicus."³

¹ Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post*, pp. 272 f.

² See *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 399.

³ Stuart (p. 141), repeating this statement, cites Gough's *Camden* as his authority, and adds "Pennant, vi. 174." But Pennant has no "vi.," and he does not mention Castledykes. For an explanation of the wrong reference, see *infra*, p. 245, footnote.

As these are presently contrasted with "Roman medals of brass of the same emperors, &c.," we are perhaps justified in assuming that they were of silver. The "medals of brass" belonged to a hoard, which is discussed *infra*, pp. 272 f. The discoveries that Gough had in view are clearly identical with those referred to in *O.S.A.*, xv. (1795) p. 10, where the writer, after mentioning the digging up of Roman bricks and coins, continues:—"The late Sir George Lockhart was possessed of some of those coins, particularly a beautiful silver one of Nero's; and within those few years a considerable number, mostly of Adrian, were discovered, the bulk of which are now with the Antiquarian Society. One of them is in my possession." As we shall see in due course, some of the "medals of brass" of which Gough speaks were presented to our Society in 1781. It is clearly to this donation that the writer in *O.S.A.* is alluding. Roman *denarii*—Hadrian is the only emperor specified—are also said to have been discovered at or near Castledykes in the course of last century. Fifteen or twenty years ago some of them were preserved at Carstairs House, the property of the late Sir James King, Bart.; but it has not proved possible to ascertain their present whereabouts.

In his *Military Antiquities* (p. 104) Roy tells us that "near the kirk of Carstairs some remains of a bath, and other antiquities, have been found." Stuart (p. 141) repeats the statement as to the bath, but amplifies the "other antiquities" into "a variety of antique weapons and sacrificial instruments, with several coins belonging to the reigns of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius." The village of Carstairs is about three-quarters of a mile distant from Castledykes, and it seems virtually certain that the bath here referred to must have been the bath of the fort, which would naturally lie in an annexe beyond the ramparts. It is true that Roy, who is the ultimate source of Stuart,¹ did not connect the two. That, however, may merely mean that his informant, not being alive to the significance of Castledykes, missed the obvious association and chose "the kirk of Carstairs" as the most convenient landmark for his description. It is difficult to believe that there can have been two forts, one upon the line of the Roman road and the other three-quarters of a mile away. Combining the coins from both sites, we get the following list of names:—Germanicus, Nero, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Faustina. Nero and Hadrian are represented by *denarii*. In the case of the others the metal is doubtful, and the record is therefore incomplete. Such as

¹ That is, so far as the bath is concerned. I strongly suspect that Stuart's authority for the coins and other objects was the passage from *N.S.A.*, vi., which is cited *infra*, p. 273. In that event the coins were certainly from Castledykes.

it is, however, it corresponds closely with that furnished by Birrens. Here, as there, a certain first-century flavour is suggested by the coin (or coins) of Germanicus. That is, the question of an early occupation is raised, but cannot be said to be determined. As regards the second century, on the other hand, the proof is conclusive.

CASTLE GREY (West Calder).—The account given by Sir Daniel Wilson (*Proc.*, i. pp. 58 f.) of the excavations carried out on the site of this small fort, about 1851, does not leave much room for doubting its Roman origin. Its position could be simply enough accounted for by the hypothesis that it had been one of a chain of posts guarding a cross-road from, say, Castledykes to Cramond. Wilson and his party found no coins. Nor can we attach any credence to the story told them by "an old shepherd, long resident in the district," to the effect that "some forty years ago a "bull's hide" was got out of the well, filled with silver coins" (*Proc.*, *l.c.*). An earlier version of the same tale appears in the undated account of the parish of Midcalder in *N.S.A.*, i. p. 371:—"Some years ago, three enterprising young farmers dug up the foundation of the well [? wall] belonging to this camp; and, under the great stone in which the flag-staff had stood, they discovered a considerable quantity of Roman coins, some of which were purchased by a goldsmith in the city of Edinburgh." The "some forty years ago" of Wilson's shepherd would take us back to about 1812, since his paper was written in the spring of 1852. And it can hardly be a mere coincidence that, as we shall learn presently, a small deposit of *denarii* was brought to light in 1810 in the immediate neighbourhood of the fort, though not actually within the ramparts.¹ This little hoard, which is amply vouched for, is probably the substratum of truth on which has been built up the tale of the bull's hide with its variant. The notice in *O.S.A.*, xviii. (1796) pp. 196 f. would possibly be more to the point, if only it were not so vague:—"Within a few years, several Roman coins have been dug up from the environs of this encampment, on which the Roman eagle was sufficiently apparent, but the circumstances which could lead to the period at which they were coined, where [*sic*] completely effaced." If the statement as to "the Roman eagle" can be accepted as trustworthy, the reference may be either to *AR* of M. Antony or to *AE* of Vespasian or Titus (*Coh.*, i. pp. 404 f., Nos. 480 ff., and p. 449, Nos. 239 f.).²

¹ See *infra*, p. 262.

² There are, of course, many other possibilities. But for Scotland the alternatives suggested are the most probable.

(c) *The Antonine Wall.*

CARRIDEN.—Among the scanty indications of the former existence of a Roman fort at Carriden (*Roman Wall*, p. 243) is “a Golden Medal of the Emperor *Vespasian*,” which Sibbald (p. 31) tells us that he saw in the hands of the proprietor of the estate. It may be taken for granted that this is identical with the “*Imperial Medal of Gold*” mentioned by Gordon (p. 61). Its loss, of course, may date either from the Agricolan or from the Antonine period.

KINNIEL.—Since my *Roman Wall* was published in 1911, I have repeatedly examined the ground about Kinniel, and I am satisfied that, if (as is *a priori* probable) there was once a fort there, it must have stood on the site I have already suggested¹—the bluff formed by a bend in the Gil Burn, a little to the east of the main entrance to the policies. But there is no record of the finding of coins or other remains.

INVERAVON.—Seven years ago I described the fort at Inveravon as “no more than a possibility” (*Roman Wall*, p. 242). Since then search with the spade has made the possibility a practical certainty. The details are still unpublished, but it may be said at once that no coins were found.

MUMRILLS.—Our knowledge of this fort was considerably extended in 1912-13 (*Proc.*, xlix. pp. 116 ff.), and it has been added to by subsequent discoveries. Here, however, as at Inveravon, numismatic evidence is yet to seek.

FALKIRK.—The fort which presumably existed at Falkirk (*Roman Wall*, pp. 238 f.) must be carefully distinguished from Camelon. The supposed site is now entirely built over, but the configuration of the ground makes it clear that the enclosure cannot under any circumstances have been large. The remains said to have been dug up include but a single coin—“having on the obverse the bust of Antoninus, with the legend Antoninus Aug. Pius. P.P.”² As the metal is not specified, it was probably *Æ*.

ROUGH CASTLE.—The fact that the interesting excavations carried out here in 1903 (*Proc.*, xxxix. pp. 442 ff.) produced no coins is doubtless to be explained by the comparative inexperience of the workmen.

SEABEGS.—As to the likelihood of there having been a fort at or near Seabegs, there is little to add to what is said in *Roman Wall*, pp. 219 f. The most promising spot to search would perhaps be on the east side of the little stream.

CASTLECARY.—Nimmo³ says that in August 1771 there was found at

¹ *Roman Wall*, p. 147.

² Nimmo, *History of Stirlingshire* (ed. 1880), i. p. 39.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

Castle Cary, along with other objects, "a silver denarius of Hadrian and of Cæsar Augustus." Apparently only a single coin is meant, the mention of two emperors being the outcome of a confused interpretation of some such legend as IMPCAESARTRAIANHADRIANVSAVG. The Buchanan MSS. record the finding of a *denarius* of Trajan in 1851. As at Rough Castle, and no doubt for a similar reason, the excavations carried out here by the Society in 1902 (*Proc.*, xxxvii. pp. 271 ff.) were a blank so far as coins were concerned. But in 1907 I was shown another *denarius* of Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 49, No. 301), which had been picked up "in cutting a road to Castle Cary Castle, exactly opposite the gateway of the old fort."

WESTERWOOD.—The outline of the fort at Westerwood is still fairly distinct (*Roman Wall*, p. 206). But there is no record of the discovery of any coins on or about the site.

CROY HILL.—I incline to think that I have now hit upon a clue to the position of the fort here, and that in *Roman Wall*, p. 126, I was disposed to place it too far down the hill. By and by there may be an opportunity for a day or two's spade-work, which would clear the matter up effectually. No coins are known to have been found in the neighbourhood.¹

BAR HILL.—Stuart (p. 338) mentions "*denarii* of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius in the highest state of preservation" as associated with this site. Evidence still more definite is available as a result of Mr Whitelaw's excavations of 1902-5. In *The Roman Forts on the Bar Hill*, pp. 107 ff. (*Proc.*, xl. pp. 509 ff.), nineteen coins were identified with certainty, although in two cases the exact variety was doubtful; probable attributions were suggested for four others; and four more were set aside as indecipherable, along with certain corroded fragments from the baths. After an interval of thirteen years, this time with the assistance of Mr G. F. Hill, I have re-examined very carefully the four whose identification was only probable, as well as the 'indecipherables' and the fragments. The result was a confirmation of my original impressions as to the first group, the rescue of a 'second brass' of Sabina from the fragments, and the classification of the 'indecipherables' as a *denarius* of Hadrian (probable), and bronze coins of Marcus (probable), L. Verus (possible) and Commodus (possible). Taking everything into account, Stuart included, we get the following list of names:—M. Antony (ΛR), Vespasian (ΛR),

¹ The late Rev. J. C. Carrick of Newbattle, in a letter to the *Scotsman* of July 16, 1908, spoke of a coin of Vespasian (which had belonged to his grandfather, Dr John Buchanan) in a context which has sometimes led to its being connected with Croy. But the inference is not justified by what Mr Carrick actually says, and I believe the coin to which he refers was really one found at Dumbarton (see *infra*, p. 244).

Domitian (ΔR), Nerva (ΔR), Trajan (ΔR and ΔE), Hadrian (ΔR and ΔE), Sabina (ΔE), Pius (ΔR), Marcus (ΔR and ΔE), Verus (ΔE), Commodus (ΔE).¹ The second-century character of the whole is manifest. In spite of the discovery of an Agricolan fort here, there is not a single coin that might not easily have been lost during the Antonine period. This is a significant fact to which we shall have occasion to return.

AUCHENDAVY.—This fort is remarkable for the find of altars and other objects made in May 1771 (*Roman Wall*, pp. 184 ff.). At an earlier date Gordon (p. 54) and Maitland (*History of Scotland*, i. p. 178) had spoken vaguely of “medals.” Long afterwards Stuart (p. 328) says: “A gold coin of Trajan was found here many years ago, but is now lost.” The *aureus* in question was described by Gough to the Society of Antiquaries of London on Feb. 13, 1772, in the same paper in which he gave an account of the find of altars.² He adds: “This coin was purchased for 7 guineas for the capital cabinet of foreign and domestic coins belonging to the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh.” It is not lost, but is now in the National Museum (Coh.², ii. p. 41, No. 215), and is in very good condition.

KIRKINTILLOCH.—To the arguments brought forward in 1911 (*Roman Wall*, pp. 180 ff.) in favour of the view that Kirkintilloch was the site of a Roman fort, there could now be added a good deal of confirmatory evidence, some of it obtained by the help of the spade in July 1914. The investigation was interrupted by the outbreak of the European war, and, in the hope that it may yet be completed, the publication of the results is meanwhile postponed. Dr John Buchanan states (Stuart, p. 324) that “coins of Domitian, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, and Constantine have been discovered here,” adding that some of them were in his own possession. According to the Buchanan MSS., he subsequently acquired “a large Brass Coin of the Emperor Galba found a few years ago near the Peel of Kirkintilloch.” Except for the stray Constantine, the emperors are thoroughly typical.

CADDER.—The remains of the fort at Cadder were discovered in January 1914, and its dimensions approximately ascertained (*Proc.*, xlix. pp. 113 ff.). The examination then made was necessarily of so restricted a character that very little in the way of remains was brought to the surface; and that little included no coins. But in the account of the parish (1836) in *N.S.A.*, vi. p. 407, we read:—

¹ It is worth recalling that ten of the *denarii*, all found in the well, were of *lead*, and therefore probably shams manufactured for devotional purposes (*Num. Chron.*, 1905, pp. 10 ff.).

² *Archæologia*, iii. p. 118. Cf. Gough's *Camden*, iii. p. 358; 2nd ed., iv. p. 98. Gough's language distinctly suggests that the gold coin was found in the same pit as the altars.

"When Cadder pond was cleaned and repaired in 1813, a coin or medal of Antoninus Pius was found in an excellent state of preservation, but with a little piece broken or worn off. It was supposed to be of gold. It was given to the late Charles Stirling, Esq."

Cadder pond lies about 200 yards north-west of the site of the fort, and we are therefore reasonably justified in associating the coin with the occupation. Stuart (p. 321) records the discovery, but gives no indication of the metal. The actual piece, however, is now in the Hunterian Museum, having been presented by Mr Stirling in July 1813, as is mentioned in a note that lies beside it. It is a 'second brass' of Pius¹ (Coh.², ii. p. 342, No. 727), and is in good condition but for the slight flaw noted in *N.S.A.*

BALMULDY. — Until 1912 Balmuldry (or Bemulie) had no coins to its credit except a 'second brass' of Pius, accidentally discovered in 1848 (Stuart, p. 320).² The excavations since carried out by the Glasgow Archæological Society have extended the list considerably. Apart from what was perhaps a *denarius* of M. Antony, worn smooth both on obverse and on reverse, the finds made by the Society included one *denarius* each of Vitellius (Coh.², i. p. 359, No. 47), Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 27, No. 83), and Hadrian (probably Coh.², ii. p. 133, No. 315), one 'first brass' and one 'second brass' of Domitian (Coh.², i. pp. 497 f., Nos. 307 ff., and pp. 523 f., Nos. 648 ff.), one 'first brass' of Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 72, Nos. 534 ff.), three 'first brass' and one 'second brass' of Hadrian (Coh.², ii. p. 136, No. 356; p. 181, No. 895; p. 186, No. 974; and p. 171, No. 773), two 'second brass' of Pius (Coh.², ii. p. 322, No. 534, and probably p. 309, Nos. 391 ff.), and one 'second brass' of Marcus (Coh.², iii. p. 47, No. 458). As will be gathered from the lack of precision that characterises many of these identifications, the bronze coins were generally much corroded, the legends being often wholly or partially obliterated. One of the two of Pius, however, had been in very good condition when lost. A summary of the whole may be useful, it being understood that the first item is doubtful:—*AR* of M. Antony (1), Vitellius (1 *AR*), Domitian (2 *AE*), Trajan (1 *AR* and 1 *AE*), Hadrian (1 *AR* and 4 *AE*), Pius (3 *AE*), Marcus (1 *AE*). There is nothing here save what previous experience would have led us to expect.

NEW KILPATRICK.—Hitherto the record of New Kilpatrick has been a blank so far as coins are concerned. But in October 1912 a 'second brass' of Trajan, along with amphora fragments, was dug up in a

¹ Not of Domitian, as inadvertently stated in *Papers of the Regality Club*, iii. p. 38, footnote.

² The description there given of the type is wrong, and the remains of the legend have been misread. The figure on the Rev. was not Victory, but either Concordia or Fides, holding a military standard in each hand.

garden on the site of the fort and submitted to me for identification. It proved to be Coh.², ii. p. 77, No. 573.

CASTLEHILL.—No coins at all have yet been reported from this site or its neighbourhood.

DUNTOCHER.—Gordon (p. 52) mentions a gold coin of Hadrian from Duntocher, and his "Plate of Medals" (No. 7) shows it to have been Coh.², ii. p. 169, No. 746. In his text Stuart (p. 304) speaks of "some *denarii* of Domitian and Faustina" and also of a "small brass" of Trajan. In a footnote Dr John Buchanan states (*l.c.*) that "more coins have been lately discovered at Duntocher, embracing *denarii* of Domitian, Trajan, and Faustina, and "great brass" of Antoninus Pius, all in fine preservation." Two of the Pius coins were presented to the Edinburgh Museum on June 11, 1849 (*Arch. Scot.*, v., App., p. 66). Some of the *denarii* of Trajan seem, from the description in Stuart, to have been of the type of Coh.², ii. pp. 38 f., No. 190. Finally, in the Buchanan MSS. there is a note of an *aureus* of Vespasian, which was picked up in 1854 by a woman drilling potatoes, and which passed into the possession of Dr R. D. Buchanan, Dumbarton. The list is, therefore, quite normal—Vespasian (*Δ*), Domitian (*ΔR*), Trajan (*ΔR* and *ΔE*), Hadrian (*Δ*), Pius (*ΔE*), and Faustina (*ΔR*).

CHAPEL HILL.—The exact situation of the fort at West or Old Kilpatrick was determined and the remains of its ramparts discovered in December 1913 (*Proc.*, xlix. pp. 103 ff.). "A number of silver coins" are said to have been found here in 1790 (*Roman Wall*, p. 155), while "several *denarii* of Trajan" were brought to light shortly before 1852 (Stuart, p. 294, footnote). In 1898 I was shown a worn 'second brass' of Trajan which had been picked up "near Erskine Ferry." The Ferry is close to the Chapel Hill, and a connection between the coin and the fort is at once suggested.

(d) *Scotland North of the Antonine Wall.*

CAMELON.—Enough is known of Camelon to make it certain that a thorough exploration would have yielded most interesting and valuable information. It will always be matter for regret that the Society's excavations had to be carried out under conditions that rendered success unduly difficult. They had to proceed simultaneously with the erection of foundries on the site. In spite of the resulting limitations, abundant evidence was obtained of occupation during the Agricolan as well as during the Antonine period. Camelon was, indeed, the first site in Scotland where positive indications of the presence of Agricola were discovered. The clue was furnished by the Samian ware, a large proportion of the fragments being mani-

festly of 'early' type. Either the Agricolan garrison was exceptionally numerous—a hypothesis that is hardly admissible in view of the size of the enclosure—or its stay had been a prolonged one.

The older writers all speak of the finding of coins. But only Gordon is able to condescend upon particulars. He says (p. 23):—"I myself saw two beautiful Silver Coins of *Vespasian* and *Antoninus Pius*, which are now in the Hands of the present Countess of *Kilmarnock*." Thereafter the numismatic record of Camelon is blank for more than a century. It reopens in 1847 with the construction of the railway between Polmont and Larbert. In cutting this line many objects of Roman origin were thrown up. We may be sure that these included coins, and as a matter of fact we read in *Proc.*, i. p. 59, that "coins of Otho, Antoninus, Aurelian, Gordianus, &c., are also reported to have been obtained." The list is a very surprising one. Otho and Pius we might have looked for. But this is the first appearance of Gordian and Aurelian upon the Scottish stage. The statement just quoted is printed in *Proc.* under date March 8, 1852, and the ultimate source of the 'report' is doubtless an article on "Ancient Camelon" by W. G[rosart], which was published in the *Stirling Observer* of September 19, 1850.¹ Referring to the discoveries of 1847, Grosart there asserts that "immense quantities of bones were also dug up, and fragments of ancient armour and a number of ancient coins of Antonius, Aug. Pius, Otho, Aurelian, Gordianus, etc." It will be observed that the writer in *Proc.* merely corrects the blundered name of Pius, and places him in his proper chronological relation to Otho; otherwise the lists are identical. We have, therefore, pushed the mystery a stage further back. It still remains to solve it, and the key is unwittingly provided by Dr John Buchanan in a footnote which he contributed to Stuart (p. 267). It runs:—

"In the spring of 1847, during the formation of the Scottish Central Railway near Falkirk, a large hoard of Roman copper coins was discovered in an earthen vase. They amounted to more than 150, and are very remarkable as reaching down to the latest epoch of the Roman occupation of this island. They embraced an almost complete series from Philip down to and including *Honorius*, in whose reign the Romans finally left. Unfortunately these have since been dispersed, but some of them, embracing the very latest, were procured by Mr John Buchanan of Glasgow, and are now in his possession."

Dr Buchanan's *bona fides* is beyond question, but the story he tells is open to the gravest suspicion, or rather is palpably absurd. A

¹ Mr G. F. Hill was good enough to consult the file for me at the British Museum, and send me the necessary extract. This particular number is missing from the file preserved at the office of the paper in Stirling.

moment's consideration will show that the assemblage of coins described could never have accumulated as a hoard, but can only represent a collection, for no hoard of 150 could possibly contain examples of eighty odd emperors and empresses spread over a couple of centuries—centuries, moreover, in the course of which the currency underwent profound and repeated changes. Apart from this general consideration, the mere presence of bronze coins of Honorius affords sufficient reason for scepticism. It is very doubtful whether such coins travelled even as far as Hadrian's Wall. The name of Honorius will be searched for in vain in the list of 13,487 coins recovered from Coventina's well. The negative evidence from Corbridge is equally strong. And Mr H. H. E. Craster, whose knowledge of the numismatics of the Wall region is unrivalled, writes to me:—"I know of no certain case of a single one of the coins of this emperor having been found in the north of England." The Camelon 'hoard' admits of but one explanation. When attention was attracted to the site by the emergence of genuine remains in 1847, the owner of a worthless collection of late Roman coins deliberately 'planted' it on an interested public, either as a practical joke or in order to give its contents a fictitious value by establishing a local connexion at the psychological moment. There would seem to be no reason for concerning ourselves further with this portion of Grosart's story. Notwithstanding the fact that Gordian was not one of the successors of Philip but was murdered to make way for him, we may be certain that he, no less than Honorius, owed his presence at Camelon to Dr Buchanan's "earthen vase."

The coins found during the excavations of 1899-1900, and sent to the Museum, numbered twenty-two in all,¹ five of them being *denarii*. As indicated in the Report (*Proc.*, xxxv. pp. 414 ff.), they were for the most part in poor condition. Repeated re-examination has, however, made it possible to correct and amplify the original description in some not unimportant respects. In an amended list Vespasian would be represented by 2 *Æ* (*Coh.*², i. p. 373, No. 74, and p. 395, No. 366 or No. 371) and 3 *Æ* (*Coh.*², i. p. 405, No. 482; p. 380, Nos. 166 ff.; and a 'second brass' of quite unrecognisable type), Titus by 1 *Æ* (a 'second brass' of unrecognisable type), Domitian by 2 *Æ* (*Coh.*², i. p. 476, No. 73 or No. 74, and p. 504, No. 399) and 4 *Æ* (*Coh.*², i. p. 507, Nos. 434 f.; p. 511, Nos. 496 ff.; and two 'second brass' of unrecognisable type), Trajan by 1 *Æ* (*Coh.*², ii. p. 20, No. 26) and 1 *Æ* (a 'second brass' of

¹ The Report (p. 415) says twenty-one, but there are twenty-two in the trays. The discrepancy is perhaps due to one of the coins mentioned in the footnote having been subsequently transferred to the Museum.

unrecognisable type), Hadrian by 3 \mathcal{A} (two 'first brass' and one 'second brass,' all of unrecognisable type), Pius by 1 \mathcal{A} (Coh.², ii. p. 282, Nos. 117 f.), and Marcus by 1 \mathcal{A} . The last named has on the obverse [AVRELIVSCA] ESARAVGPIIFIL with the bust of the emperor as Cæsar, and on the reverse TRPOTVIII COSII with Mars to r., holding spear and trophy. Although the type is common enough, it is not recorded for this year (155 A.D.) by Cohen. There remain one 'first brass,' which may possibly be of Faustina Junior, and two 'second brass,' one of which may be a Nero, while the other is beyond hope of identification.

In addition, Dr Anderson mentions in a footnote (*Proc.*, xxxv. p. 415) that he had seen casts of six coins picked up at the same time but retained in private hands. "Of these," he says, "one is unrecognisable, two are second brass of Antoninus Pius with Britannia on reverse,¹ the fourth is a first brass of Vespasian with an eagle displayed on reverse,² the fifth is a second brass of Domitian, and the sixth is a denarius of Trajan." Nor does this by any means complete the register. In my *Roman Wall* (p. 386) I gave a list of potters' stamps which I had seen on fragments of Samian ware that had been accumulated by a workman in the foundry which now stands on the site of the fort. His collection also contained a number of coins, of which I was allowed to make a cursory examination twelve or fifteen years ago. In my notebook they are classified as follows:—*denarii* of M. Antony (1), Vespasian (4), and Hadrian (1); and 'brass' of Vespasian (4), Trajan (2), Hadrian (1), and Pius (4). There were besides three much corroded 'brass' coins which it was not possible to identify in the circumstances. About the same time Mr R. Beatson showed me a *denarius* of Vespasian which he had acquired from the neighbourhood of the foundry.

If we now proceed to combine the various lists, including Gordon's but setting Grosart's aside,³ we get a very respectable total. Here is a summary:—M. Antony (1 \mathcal{R}), Nero (1 \mathcal{A}), Vespasian (8 \mathcal{R} and 7 \mathcal{A}), Titus (1 \mathcal{A}), Domitian (2 \mathcal{R} and 5 \mathcal{A}), Trajan (2 \mathcal{R} and 3 \mathcal{A}), Hadrian (1 \mathcal{R} and 4 \mathcal{A}), Pius (1 \mathcal{R} and 7 \mathcal{A}), Marcus (1 \mathcal{A}), and possibly Faustina Junior (1 \mathcal{A}). It will be seen that this entirely confirms what has been gathered from other sources as to the

¹ It is worth noting that this is also the type of the \mathcal{A} of Pius in the Museum. These pieces were obviously current in large numbers in our island (see *Num. Chron.*, 1907, pp. 359 ff., and 1910, p. 413). There were as many as 327 of them in Coventina's well.

² I suspect that this is the odd coin. subsequently transferred to the Museum. The type is found only in 'second brass,' but the example catalogued in the preceding paragraph has an exceptionally large *flan*.

³ Even as regards the coins of Otho and Pius his information is not sufficiently definite to be useful for the purpose of a summary.

history of the fort or forts. That there was a Roman garrison at Camelon during the Antonine period is clear. The evidence for an Agricolan occupation is not so obvious. But nevertheless it is there. Although there are no consular *denarii*, the relatively high proportion of Flavian pieces, particularly 'brass,' is most significant. They constitute more than 50 per cent. of the whole. I have elsewhere called attention to the meaning of such a phenomenon.¹

ARDOCH.—Considerations of distance suggest that there must have been two stations between Camelon and Ardoch on the line of the great north road. If so, no trace of them has survived. Ardoch, on the other hand, remains in its decay more impressive than any other Roman fort in Scotland. Originally, of course, it cannot have vied in importance with Newstead or Cramond or Camelon, but the hand of time has dealt very gently with its formidable defences. The excavations of 1896-7 were extraordinarily interesting, and one cannot help regretting that the explorers should have felt compelled to stop short when they were only, as it were, on the threshold. Here, as at Cappuck, Newstead, and Camelon, the pottery fragments indicated both an early and a late occupation. The coins spoke with an uncertain voice: they were clear as to the second century, ambiguous as to Agricola. The value of their testimony has been lessened by the fact that it has unfortunately been impossible to subject them to cross-examination. Their present whereabouts is unknown. It seems doubtful whether they ever reached the National Museum,² and at the moment a thorough search for them there is impracticable. We must content ourselves with the brief reference in the Report (*Proc.*, xxxii. p. 467):—

"The coins found were few and in very bad condition. All those that could be identified were denarii of Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, and Hadrian. A few third brass³ were also found, but so decayed as to be quite incapable of being identified."

Sibbald alone among the older writers gives us any specific information as to coins found at Ardoch. And what he has to say upon the point has been so generally misunderstood that an effort to clear up his meaning is desirable. For the misunderstanding, it should be added, no one but himself is responsible. Towards the close of the paragraph which he devotes (p. 37) to Ardoch, and to an incidental notice of Strageth, he writes:—

¹ In Curle's *Roman Frontier Post*, pp. 400 and 414 f.

² They are not entered in the register as having been received, and Mr Curle has no note of their having been observed when the contents of the cases were being stored away in 1914.

³ Probably these were 'second brass' with worn and broken edges. There was but little 'third brass' current in Scotland. I can hardly recall an example.

"I have given a Copper Cut of this Camp, and the Stone with the Inscription upon it, was taken up out of the Camp, there are Vaults below the *Prætorium*, and several Medals have been found near to this Camp, some of *Domitian*, some of *Trajan*, and some of *Marcus Aurelius*, which I have seen; I take this Camp to be the *Victoria* mentioned by *Ptolemy* in his Tables."

That certainly seems sufficiently explicit, for the "Copper Cut" reproduces his plan of Ardoch. But, if the whole passage be looked at carefully in the light of the Appendix which he had contributed twelve years before (1695) to Gibson's edition of Camden, it will be apparent that the paragraph is a somewhat confused abridgement of a very much fuller statement. We may quote the relevant portion of the earlier disquisition. After arguing that the size and situation of Ardoch justify its being regarded as a "*Prætentura*" or frontier-station, it proceeds (*op. cit.*, pp. 1096 f.).

"The *Prætorium* or the General's Quarter is a large Square, about a hundred paces every way: round it are five or six *Aggeres* or Dykes, and as many *Valla* or Ditches, the deepness of a man's height. There are Ports to the Four Quarters of the World: and to the East, there are several larger Squares, with their Circumvallations continued for a good way: to the West is the Bank of the water of *Kneck*, and five or six miles to the North-east of this, hard by the Water of *Earn*, near to *Inch Paferay*, is a lesser Camp, the *castrum exploratorium*, the Camp for the Advance Guard: and a little to the Eastward of this, beginneth the Roman *Via militaris*, called by the common people, the *Street way*. . . . And the *Grampian hills* . . . are but a few miles distant from these Camps.

"The Inscription we have given the figure of, was taken up out of the *Prætorium* of the *Prætentura*: below which are Caves, out of which some pieces of a shield were taken up: and several Medals have been found thereabout. I saw a Medal of silver of Antoninus Pius, found there. The people that live thereabouts report, that a large Roman Medal of gold was found there: great quantity of silver ones have been found near the water of *Earn*, amongst which I have seen some of *Domitian*, some of *Trajan*, and some of *Marcus Aurelius*."

It will be observed that in the original version of the story the "*Prætentura*" of Ardoch is contrasted with the "*castrum exploratorium*" at Innerpeffray (or Strageth) "hard by the Water of *Earn*," and, further, that the only coins specifically associated with the former are a *denarius* of Pius and an unidentified *aureus*, both of which have been crowded out of the *Historical Inquiries* (*l.c.*). The *denarii* of Domitian, Trajan, and Marcus were found "near the water of *Earn*," and it follows that, if we are to connect them with a Roman fort at all, it must be with Strageth. The list for Ardoch is thus reduced to *R* of Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian, and Pius, together with an unidentified *aureus* and a few undeciphered 'second brass.' It calls for no further remark.

STRAGETH.—Nothing need be added to what Sibbald has said regarding the position of Strageth. It was obviously the next station to Ardoch. The site is well known, but has never been opened up, although one or two stray objects have been found (*Proc.*, v. p. 241). It would be rash to add to these the *denarii* of Domitian, Trajan, and Marcus which Sibbald tells us he had seen. It is true that Gough's *Camden* (1st ed., iii. p. 382; 2d ed., iv. p. 122) asserts that "plenty of Roman coins" have been discovered both at Strageth and at Ardoch. But Gough is only echoing Sibbald, and in doing so he takes it for granted that "near the water of *Earn*" must indicate Strageth. The assumption is unwarranted and almost certainly mistaken. The words "great quantity of silver ones" plainly suggest a hoard, and the probability is that what Sibbald saw was that portion of the great seventeenth-century hoard from the Drummond country,¹ which was preserved, like the Ardoch stone, at Drummond Castle. He was the family physician of the owner, the Earl of Perth.²

CARPOW.—The existence of a Roman fort at Carpow, near the confluence of the Earn and the Tay, is sufficiently well attested,³ although no systematic attempt has ever been made to open up the site. Its position seems to mark it as one of a series designed to guard a road which ran up Strathearn, joining the main north road at Strageth and probably passing beyond it to Dealginross. We hear of two Roman coins being found on the spot by a man when scouring a ditch, "one of them a beautiful coin of the Empress Faustina."⁴ This is slender evidence; but, such as it is, it points to the second century.

GRASSY WALLS.—Beyond the Earn the line of the Roman road, protected at short intervals by watch-towers, can still be traced⁵ advancing north-eastwards towards the Tay. The remains of a fort, now barely visible, point to its having reached the river just where the latter is joined by the Almond.⁶ On the farther side of the stream, a mile or two away, is the site of Grassy Walls, the first of the "great suite" of temporary camps which extends beyond the Tay along Strathmore, through Perth, Forfar, and Kincardine into Aberdeen. No datable objects from any of these camps have hitherto been recorded, and the question as to their period has accordingly been argued on purely *a priori* grounds. Last year, however, I had submitted to me for examination a Roman 'first brass,' which was found in May 1907 in

¹ See *infra*, p. 263.

² See the passage from his *Memoirs* quoted by James Macdonald, *Tituli Hunteriani*, p. 83.

³ See Gough's *Camden*, ed. 1806, iv. p. 48, *Arch. Scot.*, v., App., pp. 24 and 28, etc. A cement-lined bath was open when I visited the spot in 1901 with Prof. Haverfield and Mr R. P. L. Booker.

⁴ Small, *Interesting Roman Antiquities Recently Discovered in Fife* (1823), p. 176.

⁵ See *Proc.*, xxxv. pp. 15 ff.

⁶ See *Archæologia*, lxxviii. p. 185.

a newly ploughed field within the area of Grassy Walls, and which is now in the Perth Museum. It is sadly corroded, but part of the outline of the imperial head is faintly traceable on the obverse. Mr G. F. Hill and I independently came to an identical conclusion regarding it. It is not earlier than about 100 A.D., nor later than about 160; the probability is in favour of its being a Trajan, although the possibility of its being a Hadrian or a Pius cannot be entirely set aside.

INCHTUTHIL.—The remains at Inchtuthil are suggestive of something more than the line of advance marked out by the “great suite” of temporary camps; the site is ten or fifteen miles higher up the Tay than Grassy Walls, and may have been selected as commanding the mouth of the valley through which the Highland Railway now runs to Dunkeld and Blair Atholl. A report of the excavations carried out there by the Society in 1901 was published in *Proc.*, xxxvi. pp. 182 ff. A special study of the pottery, subsequently made by Mr James Curle, brought out the important fact that the whole of the fragments found were ‘early.’ This observation adds materially to the interest attaching to Inchtuthil. If, as now seems probable, the position was occupied by the Romans during the Agricola period only, it follows that a complete unveiling of its secrets would throw much light on the question as to how long that period really lasted. Dr Anderson was disposed to think (*l.c.* p. 236) that the “comparative paucity of casual remains of occupancy suggests that the presence of the Romans upon the site of this camp was of limited duration.” Against that inference it may fairly be urged that the exploration of the site was a partial one and was, indeed, mainly confined to the area of the large enclosure, which had obviously been the winter quarters of a flying column and could therefore hardly be otherwise than barren of casual remains. The lesson taught by the baths, and particularly by the carefully repaired subsidence in the wall, was of a very different character. This is not the place to pursue the subject. Enough has been said to emphasise the necessity for a careful examination of the solitary coin that was discovered.

In the report (*l.c.*, p. 242) it is “presumed to be an early issue of Domitian (after A.D. 73), having on the reverse a standing figure and the inscription AVG.” A closer scrutiny, frequently repeated, has enabled the possibilities to be very much narrowed. The portrait of Domitian on the obverse is plain enough, and one can even detect some remnants of the legend. Nor is there any manner of doubt as to the reverse: it reads [MONETA] AVGVSTI, and bears a draped figure of Moneta standing l., holding a pair of scales and a cornucopiæ. This type appears on the ‘second brass’ of Domitian

from 84 to 95 A.D. (Coh.², i. pp. 498 f., Nos. 323 ff.). But the Inchtuthil piece cannot be as early as 84, for the traces of the obverse legend are sufficiently distinct to show that the emperor's titles had included either CENS POT or (more probably) CENS PER. The former was used in 85 A.D., the latter in 86 and subsequent years. In either event the coin was not minted until after Agricola's recall, so that Inchtuthil continued to be garrisoned when he had quitted the island for ever. It will be remembered that as many as six of these MONETA AVGVSTI coins emerged at Newstead, and that one of them, which dated from 86 A.D., had been almost in mint condition when lost, and cannot therefore have been dropped during the second-century occupation.¹

(B) ISOLATED FINDS FROM NATIVE SITES.²

BROCH OF TORWOODLEE (Selkirkshire).—A small 'brass' coin of Vespasian was recovered from this broch along with various fragments of Roman pottery (*Proc.*, xxvi. p. 78).

TRAPRAIN LAW (Haddingtonshire).—A *denarius* of Domitian, which is now in the possession of Mr J. S. Richardson, was found here in 1898 by a quarryman in working on the hillside. But the full significance of the discovery was not appreciated until the systematic examination of this remarkable hill-settlement was begun fourteen years later by Mr A. O. Curle and Mr J. E. Cree. Although only a small part of the area has yet been opened up, quite a number of Roman coins have come to light, distributed in a way that renders the explanation of their presence certain. They formed the regular currency of the inhabitants. The list for 1914 (*Proc.*, xlix. p. 301) comprised *AR* of Hadrian and of Pius, and *AE* of Trajan (pp. 201 f.), while that for 1915 (*Proc.*, l. pp. 137 f.) consisted of *AR* of M. Antony and Vespasian (2), and *AE* of Domitian, Constantine the Great, Constantine Junior (2), Magnentius, Valentinian, and possibly—though this identification is very doubtful—Arcadius.

CASTLE NEWE (Aberdeenshire).—About 1860 a *denarius* of Nerva was found at the mouth of an "Eirde or Pict's House" in the garden at Castle Newe in Strathdon (*Proc.*, vi. p. 14). Two remarkable Celtic armlets of bronze had previously been dug up at the same spot. Coin and armlets alike had clearly belonged to the people who used

¹ The significance of this would have been emphasised more strongly in my Appendix to Curle's *Roman Frontier Post* but for the momentary lapse by which the recall of Agricola is there (p. 415) dated to 86 A.D., instead of to 84.

² While the general geographical order will be adhered to in this and the following sections dealing with isolated finds, it seems unnecessary to indicate the particular subdivisions (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*).

the "Eirde House." In describing the armlets and their discovery, Dr Joseph Anderson says (*Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age*, p. 143):—

"The underground structure appears, like many of its class, to have been associated with an overground habitation, the site of which was marked by fire-burnt pavement, remains of querns, beads, etc., found near the present surface."

BROCH OF LINGROW (Orkney). This broch stands at the head of the bay of Scapa. Dr Anderson mentions (*op. cit.*, p. 244) that in the winter of 1870–71 there were recovered from different parts of its out-buildings *denarii* of Vespasian, Hadrian, and Pius (2), and two coins of Crispina, metal not specified.

(C) ISOLATED FINDS FROM OCCUPIED SITES OF INDETERMINATE CHARACTER, PROBABLY CHIEFLY NATIVE.

EILDON HILLS (Roxburghshire).—Mr James Curle and Mr Alexander Mackie inform me that some years ago a *denarius* of Hadrian was found within the area enclosed by the earthworks that crown the most easterly of the three peaks of the Eildons.

NORTH BERWICK (Haddingtonshire).—Mr J. E. Cree has shown me a well-preserved *denarius* of Caracalla found about nine years ago in a bunker on the links at North Berwick. It is *Coh.*² iv. p. 186, No. 413. Mr Cree had the sand in the bunker to a depth of 3" or 4' put through a half-inch riddle, with the result that a few ancient bones and a certain number of whelk shells were recovered, apparently indicating a dwelling-site. No pottery or metal of any description was observed.

HUMBIE (Haddingtonshire).—A footnote to p. 162 of *O.S.A.*, vi. (1793), gives a description of "the vestiges of a Roman *Castellum Staticum*" in the S.W. part of the parish. "It was of a circular form, and consisted of 3 walls, at the distance of 15 feet from each other, built with very large stones, and with cement only at the bottom"—details which make it practically certain that it was of native construction. Within it were found "a medal of Trajan, a fibula, a patera, and a horn of a moose deer."

KAIMS (Midlothian).—To judge by outward appearances, this was a hill-settlement of the same nature as Traprain.¹ In 1881 a *denarius* of Severus, some fragments of red and grey pottery, and a portion of a bronze ring were picked up among the sand at the mouth of a rabbit-hole. They are now in the National Museum.² Sir John

¹ See *Proc.*, xxx. pp. 269 ff.

² At present they are stored away, so that I have had no opportunity of examining the coin.

Findlay possesses a letter written to his father by Sir William Fettes Douglas, giving an account of the incident.

QUEENSFERRY (Linlithgowshire).—According to *O.S.A.*, i. (1791) p. 238, about a mile to the west of Queensferry, “upon a high sea bank, where a farm house now stands, there were, about 40 or 50 years since, considerable ruins of probably an old Roman *speculatorium*.” The description of the ruins—which included “a large carved window”—is reminiscent rather of the Middle Ages. But the site would certainly seem to have been occupied in Roman times, for “there were found several silver medals of Marcus Antoninus, with a *Victory* on the reverse; also, the carved handle of a copper vessel, and the bottom of an earthen urn, with the word *adjecti*; the rest obliterated.” The type of *Victory* is not uncommon on the reverses of *denarii* of Marcus.

BIGGAR (Lanarkshire).—The writer of the account of the parish of Biggar (1835) in *N.S.A.*, vi., states on p. 363 that “when Biggar *Cross-know*, a small eminence in the middle of the town, was removed a few years ago, a gold coin of the Emperor Vespasian was found in excellent preservation.” It is just possible that this may be the discovery that Chalmers had in mind twenty-eight years earlier when he wrote (p. 135): “At Biggar there is a strong redoubt, which is called *the moat*, where Roman coins have been found.” In any event, whether the “eminence” and the “redoubt” are identical or not, it seems fairly certain that the former was artificial.

LANARK.—Roy in his *Military Antiquities* (p. 122), speaking of Lanark, asserts that “the Castle-hill, situated near the bank of the Clyde, is indisputably a Roman fort; for here, as well as in the adjacent fields, many of their coins have been found, and, among the rest, a fine silver Faustina.” The General had intimate personal associations with Lanark,¹ and his statement as to the Faustina may be at once accepted as accurate. On the other hand, we may perhaps detect in “many of their coins” a spice of exaggeration, for which his informants are responsible; and this without in any way questioning the soundness of the broad inference as to inhabitation of some sort. But, in the light of what we have learned from Traprain and the Broch of Lingrow, we cannot regard the fact that the coins were Roman as a proof of the nationality of the inhabitants.

YORKHILL (Lanarkshire).—In *Proc.*, xii. (p. 257), there is an interesting account of a discovery made in 1867 on the estate of Yorkhill. Faint traces of earthworks had previously been visible on the summit of a lofty rising-ground that dominates the confluence of the Kelvin and

¹ *Archæologia*, lxviii. pp. 177 f.

the Clyde. In the course of improvements the earthworks were dug into and the area trenched.

“These operations revealed a variety of Roman remains, embracing—1st, Fragments of several jars of the ware called Samian, in different colours; 2nd, Portions of an ornamented vase of white glass; 3rd, Two bronze finger-rings; 4th, A small quantity of wheat, for bread to the soldiers; 5th, Several Roman coins, much corroded, but one of large brass, which was of Trajan, in tolerable preservation.”

On this statement of the case there is much to be said for the conclusion “that a small Roman fort existed on the Yorkhill eminence, probably to guard the ford from incursions by the natives.” But an examination of so much of the evidence as still survives leaves the matter more doubtful. The remains are now in the Glasgow Corporation Museum at Kelvingrove, to which they have been lent by the trustees of the late Mrs Crerar-Gilbert. Besides a bronze ring and a phial of blackened grains of wheat, they include a number of pottery fragments, representing at least four different vessels. This pottery, however, is not Samian, although certainly of Roman date and probably of Roman manufacture; it is a light grey ware, ornamented with reticulated lines. There are four coins. One of these is a ‘first brass’ of Trajan, apparently Coh.², ii. p. 67, No. 485. The others, which are worn almost absolutely smooth, seem to be of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, one being of silver and two of copper. While, therefore, a Roman origin is possible for the Yorkhill fort, it is far from being certain.

GALSTON (Ayrshire).—In *O.S.A.*, ii. (1791) p. 74, the writer of the account of the parish of Galston speaks of “a place called *Beg*, above Allinton, where the brave Wallace lay, in a species of rude fortification.” In 1837 the fortification was described more fully in *N.S.A.*, v. (“Ayrshire”) p. 181, and the information added that “upon one of these slopes there was found in the year 1831 a silver coin in good preservation, having this inscription, CÆSAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F. PATER PATRIÆ.” This legend is, of course, one of those that accompany the head of Augustus on his coins.

STEVENSTON (Ayrshire).—Sibbald, in his *Miscellanea Quædam Erudite Antiquitatis* (1710), p. 110, mentions the finding of a *denarius* of Faustina, along with other remains, near Saltcoats, and sees in the discovery “argumentum ibi fuisse olim stationem Romanam.” The source of his information was Robert Wodrow, the well-known ecclesiastical historian, in whose *Correspondence*, as edited by McCrie, there is printed (i. p. 172) a letter which contains the following passage:—

"What comes now is a spoon of a mixd mettall wh was found w̄t the Roman coin of Faustina wh I let you see, in Cunningham in the parish of Stevenston a little from the shore, about a mile from Saltcoats to ye south. There are little blowing hills of sand there and by the blowing of the sand there begin to appear somew̄t like the ruins of a building, and it's here where this spoon was gote some years since."

The letter is dated November 23, 1710. In 1837, five years before M'Crie published it, the extract just quoted was reproduced in *N.S.A.*, v. ("Ayrshire") p. 454, where, however, by some curious error of transcription the spoon has been transformed into a "speare."¹ That the settlement was a native one, does not admit of doubt. It may be taken for granted that the coin is identical with the "Silver Medal of *Faustina*, Wife to *Antoninus Pius*, found in the Shire of *Air*," which is mentioned by Gordon (p. 185) and figured in his "Plate of Medals" (No. 15). To judge from the illustration, it seems to have been Coh.², ii. p. 415, No. 26.

LARGO (Fifeshire).—There is now in the National Museum (FC 39) "a second brass of Antonia Augusta struck by the Emperor Claudius,"² said to have been found with a Byzantine coin in a sand-pit at Norrie's Law, where a remarkable hoard of silver ornaments was discovered in 1819. Two *AR* coins of late date, a Valens, and a Constantius II. are reported to have been found on the same spot. The circumstances of the discovery are discussed *infra*, p. 266, where references are given. It is doubtful whether the coins can have had any connexion with the main deposit.

AUCHTERDERRAN (Fifeshire).—This find, which is now published for the first time, is of rather special interest, inasmuch as there is no other record of the occurrence of a coin of Pertinax in Scotland. The precise locality is unknown, but must almost certainly have been within the parish of Auchterderran. Our information regarding the discovery comes from a MS. account of General Melville's search for Roman camps in Scotland,³ compiled about 1812 by his secretary, John Dougall, and now in the possession of Mr E. W. M. Balfour-Melville. After speaking of Loch Ore, in the neighbourhood of which Gordon (p. 36) had placed a Roman fort, Dougall proceeds:—

"About a couple of miles to the eastward of that station, on a gentle eminence, vestiges of a rampart and ditch, forming the south-west angle of a rectangular and rectilineal inclosure, have been noticed; and within the inclosure was found, about fifty years ago, a silver coin of Pertinax."

¹ I have consulted the original MS. and have verified M'Crie's reading.

² The coin is temporarily stored away with the silver ornaments, and I have therefore been unable to examine it.

³ See *Archæologia*, lxxviii. pp. 169 f.

WELLFIELD (Fifeshire).—In a paper read to the Society in the winter of 1829–30, Lieut.-Colonel Miller says (*Arch. Scot.*, iv. p. 41):—"About a mile north-west from Wellfield a silver coin of Domitian, and a handmill, were found a few years ago, both of them in excellent preservation, and the latter of very good workmanship." The handmill is a clear index of inhabitation. Small does not mention it in his account of the find, written some seven years earlier.¹ On the other hand, he describes the coin in sufficient detail to enable it to be identified as of 92 A.D. and probably Coh.², i. p. 495, No. 280.

BLAIRGOWRIE (Perthshire).—Writing in 1843, the author of the account of Blairgowrie parish in *N.S.A.*, x., says (p. 914):—"There was also found in the neighbourhood of the town, and close to one of the cairns above mentioned, a coin of the Emperor Hadrian in bronze." Of the nature of the "cairns" we know nothing. But at least they denote human handiwork, and they need not have been sepulchral.

FORDOUN (Kincardineshire).—In *Arch. Scot.*, v., App., p. 14, there is a record of the presentation to the Edinburgh Museum on February 13, 1832, of "a Coin, large brass, of Hadrian, found in 1827, on the estate of Phesdo, in the Mearns, in the vicinity of a Roman fort called the Green Castle." Nothing is known as to the real nature of the Green Castle, but the chances are all in favour of its being of native construction.

(D) ISOLATED FINDS WITH NO RECORDED ASSOCIATIONS.

ECCLES (Berwickshire).—A gold coin of Nero was found in this parish in 1867, and presented to the National Museum (*Proc.*, vii. p. 197). It is Coh.², i. p. 300, No. 313, and is in very good condition.

RENTON (Berwickshire).—Under date December 8, 1828, *Arch. Scot.*, iii. App., p. 130, notes the finding, in a moss on the estate of Renton, of "a small coin of the Emperor Hadrianus." The language somehow suggests a *denarius*.

RULEWATER (Roxburghshire).—The late Captain Tancred, in *Rulewater and its People* (1907), p. 43, mentions the discovery of two bronze coins of Maximinus "in the cavity of a stone nearly two feet below the surface in good preservation." Had the number of pieces been less insignificant, the description of the 'find-spot' would have justified this being classified as a hoard.

CHAPEL-ON-LEADER (Roxburghshire).—Mr James Curle has seen a photograph of a 'first brass' of Trajan found here.

ECKFORD (Roxburghshire).—The writer of the account of this parish

¹ *Interesting Roman Antiquities Recently Discovered in Fife* (p. 90).

in *O.S.A.*, viii. (1793), tells (p. 34) that he "has seen a medal of the Empress *Faustina*, that was taken from the heart of a peat found at Moss Tower. It was about the size of a half-crown: the letters and inscription were very difficult." The indication of size given shows that the piece was a 'first brass.' According to the later version (1836) of the story which appears in *N.S.A.*, iii. ("Roxburghshire") p. 227, the inscription was "quite distinct."

SELKIRK.—There is now in the Glasgow Corporation Museum at Kelvingrove a 'first brass' of Hadrian (*Coh.*², ii. p. 122, No. 222), which is catalogued as having been found at Selkirk.

DUNBAR (Haddingtonshire).—A gold coin of Nero was picked up "in a field near Dunbar" in May 1853, and is now in the National Museum (*Proc.*, i. p. 218). It is a somewhat worn specimen of *Coh.*², i. p. 281, No. 42.

DIRLETON (Haddingtonshire).—There was recently shown me a 'second brass' of Augustus (*Coh.*², i. p. 139, No. 515), got in 1898, a foot underground, in laying a water-pipe near Dirleton. It is in the possession of Mr R. N. Collidge, Edinburgh.

PENICUIK (Midlothian).—On August 6, 1782, Sir James Clerk of Penicuik—the eldest son of "Baron" Clerk—presented to the Edinburgh Museum a gold coin of Vitellius "in good preservation." Smellie adds (ii. p. 62): "This beautiful coin was found, some years ago, in ploughing a field in the neighbourhood of Pennycuik House." Unfortunately I have been unable to identify it, as I can find no trace of it in the trays of the Museum.

BONNYRIGG (Midlothian).—In the spring of 1918, in trenching a piece of old pasture, which was being broken up for allotments, on the farm of East Polton near Bonnyrigg, Mr Joseph Beazer found a 'first brass' of Hadrian (*Coh.*², ii. p. 206, No. 1192), and presented it to the National Museum. It is in fairly good condition.

EDINBURGH.—Apart from a hoard, which will be dealt with *infra*, p. 258, there are four well-authenticated cases of the finding of Roman coins in Edinburgh. "A copper coin of the Roman Emperor Vespasian, found in a garden in the Pleasance" was presented to the Edinburgh Museum in November 1782 (Smellie, ii. p. 72), and a *denarius* of Marcus from the Abbey-yard at Holyrood was deposited beside it in 1859 (*Proc.*, iii. p. 247). Again, Sir Daniel Wilson records (*Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 386 and p. 388) that in 1850 there were discovered two *denarii* of Severus in the High Street, in laying new water-pipes to Holyrood Palace, and a bronze coin of Constantine the Great "in excellent preservation" on the Castle Hill, in digging the foundation of a large reservoir. On the other hand, the

Valentinian which Sir John Clerk mentions in a letter to Roger Gale must be excluded from our list. A reference to the correspondence¹ will show that it was found in the company of a 'brass' of Otho, which must obviously have been a 'Paduan,' as Gale suspected.

CANONBIE (Dumfriesshire).—In the account of this parish (1836) in *N.S.A.*, iv. ("Dumfriesshire"), we are told (p. 490) that "the late clergyman, the Rev. John Russell, found an aureus denarius of the Emperor Nero, on a field in the glebe to the east of the church." This interesting discovery brings us into a new district. Canonbie lies on the bank of the Esk, about a mile above the influx of the Liddel. It is not irrelevant to note that at some time—there is no evidence as to the period—the Romans seem to have penetrated into Eskdale, and made some attempt to hold it. At Gilnockie, a mile or so higher up the stream, there are still visible the remains of earthworks, enclosing an area of nearly 30 acres and presenting characteristics that are indubitably Roman, while right at the head of the long narrow valley, among the wilds of Eskdalemuir, are the much smaller "camp" and "fort" of Raeburnfoot, partially explored more than twenty years ago, when reasonable evidence of a Roman origin was forthcoming.² Whether the Canonbie coin, or the other gold pieces to be mentioned presently, had any direct connexion with the incursion of the Romans into the region, it is, of course, quite impossible to say.

BROOMHOLM (Dumfriesshire).—Two or three miles further up the Esk than Gilnockie lies the farm of Broomholm, on which no fewer than six Roman coins of gold were discovered about 1782 by Mr John Maxwell, the tenant. The oldest published account of this remarkable find is that given in *O.S.A.*, xiii. (1794) p. 597: "About 10 years ago, some of Mr Maxwell's workpeople found some *denarii aurei*, viz. 4 Neros, 2 Vespasians, and 1 Domitian, all in excellent preservation." This statement is repeated almost *verbatim* in Chalmers (p. 139), where, however, 1782 is mentioned as the exact date. It reappears in the description of the parish of Langholm (1835) on p. 420 of *N.S.A.*, iv. ("Dumfriesshire"), the only difference of substance being that the number of coins is reduced from seven to six. The correction may have been due to the vigilance of an editor, for on p. 404 of the same volume we get Mr Maxwell's own version of the story in the course of a letter which he wrote to the parish minister of Eskdalemuir on April 15, 1796. Speaking of the supposed Roman

¹ *Stukeley's Letters* (Surtees Society), iii. pp. 231 and 418.

² *Proceedings of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 1897-8, pp. 17-27.

road between Netherby and Overby, he says: "I myself found six of these *denarii aurii* [*sic*] upon the farm of Broomholm, through which the road passes and shews itself in a very perfect state. Three of them were Neros, two Vespasians, and one Domitian, all in perfect preservation. They are now in possession of Lady Douglas of Douglas." Though we are not expressly told so, it is natural to infer that all six were found together. If that was the case, it would have been more correct to catalogue them among the 'Hoards' than among the 'Isolated Finds.' Other considerations, however, make it convenient that they should be disposed of now.

WAUCHOPE BRIDGE (Dumfriesshire).—About a mile and a half above Broomholm is the town of Langholm, immediately beyond which the Esk is joined by the Wauchope Water. Not far from the confluence a gold coin of Otho was discovered soon after 1782. According to *O.S.A.*, xiii. (1794) p. 597, there were two other gold coins along with it: "Upon the same line [of road], at a subsequent period, 1 Otho and 2 *denarii aurei* were discovered near Wauchope Bridge. They are now in the possession of the family of the late Mr Little, baron-baillie of Langholm." Again the statement is echoed by Chalmers (p. 139) and by *N.S.A.*, iv. ("Dumfriesshire") p. 420. But, in spite of its circumstantiality, there must be some hesitation about accepting it. Mr Maxwell, who was keenly interested, seems to have heard only of the Otho. In the letter already quoted he refers (*l.c.*) to "a gold coin which I have seen in the possession of the deceased Matthew Little, merchant in Langholm, which was found in the small holm, on the south-east of Wauchope bridge, through which the road passed. It was a *denarius aurius* [*sic*] and an Otho, a very scarce coin." The Otho, then, is certain; its two companions doubtful.

DUMFRIES.—In *O.S.A.*, v. (1793) p. 142, we read of "a small gold coin, scarcely so broad as a sixpence, but nearly as thick as a half-crown, and bearing the inscription *AUGUSTUS* round the impression of a Roman head. It was found, 3 or 4 years ago in the Nith, nearly opposite to the town mills." The description of a Roman *aureus* is not to be mistaken. If the legend be really complete as it stands, the coin was probably one of the issues of Augustus himself. The account of the parish of Dumfries (1833) in *N.S.A.*, iv. ("Dumfriesshire"), retells the story (p. 12), but adds no detail of any interest.

Arch. Scot., v., App., p. 35, records that on January 22, 1838, the Queen's Remembrancer presented to the Edinburgh Museum "a Gold Roman Coin of the Emperor Trajan, found in a moss near Dumfries." An examination of the trays shows it to have been *Coh.*², ii. p. 53. No. 334. It is in very good condition.

URR (Kirkcudbrightshire).—*O.S.A.*, xi. (1794) p. 70, notices a find which, if not made on what had once been an inhabited site, must consist of stragglers from an undiscovered hoard, buried after 180 A.D. "At Mill of Buittle," it says, "about half a mile west from the moat already mentioned,¹ there were found, several years ago, three small silver coins (*sesterces*) one of TIBERIUS, one of HADRIAN, and one of COMMODUS." The so-called *sesterces* were, of course, *denarii*.

TWYNHOLM (Kirkcudbrightshire).—*Proc.*, vi. p. 238, mentions the presentation to the Society on June 12, 1865, of a "Third Brass Coin of the Roman Emperor Crispus, struck at London; it was found in the parish of Twynholm, Kirkcudbrightshire."

CRAWFORDJOHN (Lanarkshire).—Writing in 1836, the author of the description of this parish in *N.S.A.*, vi., says (p. 503): "Lately, a silver piece, almost the size of a sixpence, was found, having on it Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus."

CARLUKE (Lanarkshire).—Lindsay, who mentions a manuscript "by the late Dr Wright of Glasgow" as having been of much service to him in the compilation of his own list, has the following note (p. 262) under the date July 1784: "At Carluke near Lanark, a gold coin of Otho was found weighing 4 dwts. 13 grains, and having on the reverse the legend *Securitas P.R.*" The coin was, therefore, *Coh.*², i. p. 353. No. 14, No. 16, or No. 22. Its discovery had been announced almost immediately in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1784, ii. p. 713): "In a ploughed field in the neighbourhood of Glasgow has been found the *aureus* or *didrachmi* [*sic*] of the Emperor Otho. This coin is in the highest esteem among antiquaries; but its having been found in a field near Glasgow wants confirmation." The scepticism of Sylvanus Urban drew a reply from Dr Wright, into whose possession the coin had passed: "I can assure you it was found in the parish of *Carluke*, in a ploughed field, within two miles of *Lanark*. It is now in my custody. It is a fresh and beautiful coin, and there is no reason to suppose it an imposition" (*Gent. Mag.*, 1786, i. p. 33).

But this is not all. Lindsay adds (*l.c.*): "One of Nero was also found." It is reasonable to suppose that this information, like that as to the Otho, was derived from Wright's manuscript. And from the way in which Lindsay puts it, one might infer that the two had been discovered together. Had this been so, however, Wright would have been certain to mention the Nero in his letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Besides, there is other evidence that the finds were distinct. In *O.S.A.*, viii. (1793) p. 137, the parish minister of Carluke writes: "Roman coins at Burnhouse and Castlehill were found in the

¹ The well-known Moat of Urr.

direction of this road,¹ and a description of them was lately given in the *Scots Magazine*." Fruitless search in the files of the *Scots Magazine* makes it certain that the reference to that periodical is the result of an error: what was in the writer's mind is the notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. "Burnhouse," too, is apparently a mistake for "Burnhead." At all events, in 1839 the author of the description of Carluke in *N.S.A.*, vi., says (p. 581): "Gold coins of the Roman period have also been found at Burnhead and Castlehill." These two localities lie respectively south-east and north-west of the town of Carluke, and are separated by a distance of about two miles. Burnhead is the nearer to Lanark, being about three miles away. If, therefore, Wright's statement is at all accurate, we must assign the Otho to Burnhead (or Burnhouse), and leave the Nero for Castlehill.

GLASGOW (and neighbourhood).—Gordon (p. 118) is the first to record the finding of a Roman coin in or about Glasgow: "In the City of *Glasgow* I met with a very curious Gold Medal of *Nero*. . . . This is exceedingly well preserved, and was found near *Glasgow*." His description and the illustration he gives in his "Plate of Medals" (No. 8) prove that the piece was Coh.², i. p. 287, No. 114. More than a hundred and twenty years later Dr John Buchanan notes in Stuart (p. 259) the discovery of some 'second brass' of Crispina "at Petershill, within the Royalty of Glasgow, a short distance beyond the Cathedral," and adds that they were "in fair preservation." The statement reappears in his contribution to *Glasgow Past and Present* (ii. p. 456), where it is supplemented by the information that coins of Hadrian had also been "found in the vicinity of the Cathedral," no metal being specified. Lastly, from *Proc.*, ii. p. 200, we learn that in 1856 there was presented to the Edinburgh Museum a "Denarius of the Emperor Constantius II., dug from the channel of the Clyde." It was Coh.², vii. p. 492, No. 342 or 343.

PARTICK.—A good many years ago a lad showed me a 'first brass' of Titus, which (he said) had been dug up in Partick.

RENFREW.—It is with Renfrew that we can most conveniently associate the "Roman Coin, Copper, supposed to be Tiberius, found on the banks of the Clyde, near the mouth of the Cart," which was deposited in the Edinburgh Museum by the Queen's Remembrancer in 1841 (*Arch. Scot.*, v., App., p. 45).

DUMBARTON.—The *Glasgow Courier* of May 15, 1858, reports the discovery at Dumbarton of a 'brass' coin of Vespasian, bearing the familiar type of IVDAEA CAPTA. It seems likely that this piece found its way into the collection of Dr John Buchanan, at that time an indefatigable buyer of all such relics.²

¹ That is "the Roman Road, called here *Watling's Street*" (*op. cit.*, p. 136). ² *Supra*, p. 223, footnote.

TORRANCE (Stirlingshire).—About ten years ago Mr John Bartholomew of Glenorchard showed me a ‘second brass’ of Antoninus Pius, which had been dug up by his gardener. It was Coh.², ii. p. 371, No. 1052, and had been somewhat worn when lost. The ‘find-spot’ is a mile or so north-west of the fort of Cadder.¹

CAMPSIE GLEN (Stirlingshire).—Lindsay speaks (p. 268) of a *denarius* of Hadrian, found in the Glen in 1832.

DRYMEN (Stirlingshire).—Under the heading “*Edinburgh, Aug. 8,*” the *Scots Magazine* for 1771 (p. 501) has the following item of news:—

“There were lately found, in an old quarry near the water of Endrick, two small medals of gold, the impression and letters very lively. It is very surprising, that the impressions on the medals are so clear and distinct, as the Emperor Nero Cæsar’s reign was in the 54th year and the Emperor Trajan’s reign in the 98th year of the Christian era. The inscriptions on the medals are thus:

On one side,

NERO. CAESAR.

On the other side,

AVGVSTVS. GERMANICVS.

On the one side,

IMP. CÆS. NERVA. TRAJAN. AVG.

GERM.

On the other side,

P.M.T.R.P. COS III. P.P.”

Since the two coins were found together, it would have been open to us to regard them as constituting a tiny hoard. As in the Broomholm case, however, it is more convenient to catalogue them here. It is curious that this interesting little discovery should have been almost entirely overlooked by subsequent writers. In 1776 the story was retold, somewhat more briefly, by Pennant (ii. 174). Thereafter the incident seems to have been forgotten. It was apparently unknown to the parish minister in 1793, when *O.S.A.*, viii., was published, and both Chalmers and Stuart leave it unnoticed.²

ST NINIAN (Stirlingshire).—About twenty years ago I was shown a coin of Trajan, which had been found at St Ninian’s. Unfortunately I kept no note of anything save the bare fact.

BURNTISLAND (Fifeshire).—According to Smellie, ii. p. 70, “a silver Roman coin, of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, found near Bruntisland” was deposited in the Edinburgh Museum in 1782.

¹ See *supra*, pp. 224 f.

² It may, however, be suggested that Stuart had read the passage in Pennant and had noted it for citation, but that he was subsequently led astray by an error in his reference. That is an easily intelligible explanation of the impossible “Pennant, vi. 174” which occurs in his account of Castle-dykes (see *supra*, p. 219, footnote³).

AUCHTERARDER (Perthshire).—In the description of the parish of Auchterarder in *O.S.A.*, iv. (1792), it is stated (p. 44) that “in digging the foundation of the church lately built in this place, a coin was found, of the Emperor Titus Vespasian, perfectly distinct.”

ABERNETHY (Perthshire).—About 1900 the Rev. Dr Butler, now of Galashiels, sent for my inspection a Roman *denarius*, which had been picked up in 1895 on the banks of the Earn near the House of Carey. It was a Titus,¹ being in fact Coh.², i. p. 453, No. 292.

PERTH.—The town of Perth has two Roman coins to add to the list. The discovery of the first is thus described in *O.S.A.*, xviii. (1796) p. 494: “One of the remaining parts of the north wall of the town, having been taken down a few years ago, a pretty large brass coin, of “Caesar Augustus Pontifex Maximus” was found in it.” And from *N.S.A.*, x. p. 73, we learn that the exact year was 1790. The second coin is a *denarius* of Tiberius, which is included among the contents of the Perth Museum as catalogued in the *Transactions of the Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society*, vol. i. (1827) p. 17 (of Catalogue). It is said to have been found “on the site of the Parliament House at Perth.”

LOGIERAIT (Perthshire).—“A medal (of Trajan it is believed) was found in this parish” (*O.S.A.*, v. (1793) p. 85).

KINNELL (Forfarshire).—On February 28, 1831, there was exhibited to the Society, as having been presented to their Museum by the King's Remembrancer, “a Gold Coin, in very fine preservation, of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, found in 1829 on the farm of Hattonmill, near Arbroath, Forfarshire” (*Arch. Scot.*, v., App., p. 6). Lindsay (p. 267) reports the discovery under date May 4, 1830, and gives the name of the farm as “Hutton mill.” In 1842 the writer of the description of the parish of Kinnell in *N.S.A.*, xi. (“Forfarshire”), mentions (p. 398) a coin which was picked up “in 1829, on the farm of Mainsbank, by the side of a ditch, out of which it had probably been cast. It was an aureus, a gold coin of the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius.” Then follows a description of Coh.², ii. p. 365, Nos. 993 f. The Society's small collection of Roman gold contains an extremely well-preserved specimen of this particular piece, a circumstance which, taken in conjunction with the proximity of Kinnell to Arbroath, justifies us in registering the two finds as identical. Hitherto they have been regarded as distinct.²

¹ Not a Vespasian, as stated in Haverfield, p. 165. The worn condition of the coin made the confusion easy.

² Since writing the above, I have ascertained that the farms of Hatton Mill and Mainsbank are both in the parish of Kinnell, and that they are immediately adjacent. This puts the identity of the finds beyond all possibility of doubt.

LAURENCEKIRK (Kincardineshire).—According to the description of the parish of Laurencekirk (1838) in *N.S.A.*, xi. ("Kincardineshire") p. 131, "a good many years ago, there was found in a field, near Johnston Lodge, a small Roman coin, with a different head and inscription on either side, but the only words legible are Aurelius on the one side, and Antoninus on the other." This was doubtless one of the *denarii* struck in the joint names of Pius and of Aurelius as Cæsar, which are described in *Coh.*², ii. pp. 409 ff.

ABERDEEN.—"A coin, middle brass, of Domitian, found in the vicinity of Aberdeen 1828" was exhibited to the Society on February 13, 1832, on the occasion of its presentation to their Museum (*Arch. Scot.* v., App., p. 14).

LEOCHEL-CUSHNIE (Aberdeenshire).—In the description of this parish (1843) in *N.S.A.*, xii., it is stated (pp. 1121 f.) that "about sixteen years ago [*i.e.* about 1827], a gold coin, of the Roman Emperor Constantius, was ploughed up in a hitherto uncultivated piece of ground on Mains of Cushnie, which was sold in Aberdeen."

CLATT (Aberdeenshire).—In May 1864, there was laid before the Society, on presentation to their Museum, a "small Silver Roman Coin, with legend much worn, apparently of Valentinian I., or about that period; it was found in the parish of Clatt, Aberdeenshire" (*Proc.*, v. p. 326).

LESLIE (Aberdeenshire).—In 1896 Mr H. W. Young exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle two Roman coins found in the parish of Leslie, "at the back o' Bennachie" (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newc.*, vii. p. 239). They were a 'second brass' of Trajan (*Coh.*², ii. p. 65, No. 470 or No. 472) in very good condition, and a *denarius* of Pius (*Coh.*², ii. p. 283, No. 123 or No. 124).

INVERURIE (Aberdeenshire).—There is now in the possession of the University of Aberdeen a gold coin of Vespasian, found twenty or thirty years ago at Inverurie (*Proc.*, xxix. p. 60).¹ The variety represented has been inadvertently omitted from *Coh.*² In the first edition of that work it is i. p. 274, No. 30.

SLAINS (Aberdeenshire).—*Proc.*, xi. p. 516, mentions a gold coin of Honorius, "found near the Meikle Loch, Slains," which was presented to the Edinburgh Museum in 1876. It is in mint condition, and is *Coh.*², viii. p. 185, No. 44.

MORTLACH (Banffshire).—In 1894 the late Dr Cramond of Cullen presented to the Museum a Roman 'first brass,' which had been found a year or two before at Dufftown. He thus describes it (*Proc.*, xxix. p. 60):—"It is a coin of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138, and weighs 210 grains. On the obverse is the head of the Emperor, with

¹ I am indebted to Professor Gilroy, through Mr G. M. Fraser, for a description.

the legend "Armenia." On the reverse is a Roman soldier, with the letters S.C., the rest being illegible." But "Armenia" is clearly a part of the imperial title ARMENIACVS. The coin, therefore, cannot have been of Pius. It was either of Marcus, struck in 164 A.D. or later,¹ or (less probably) of Verus. At the same time there was exhibited a 'first brass' of Maximinus, likewise found in the district (*l.c.*). Mention was also made of a 'second brass' of Marcus which had been dug up at Pittyvaich House, along with a third-century coin of Alexandria, in July 1894. Dr Cramond was inclined (p. 62) to doubt whether the last two had really been an ancient deposit. His reasons for scepticism are not, however, by any means convincing.

FORRES (Morayshire).—Stuart, p. 213, footnote, states that "in 1843, a copper coin of the Emperor Titus was found near Sueno's pillar, in the vicinity of Forres." It was of the IVDAEA CAPTA type.

FORTROSE (Ross-shire).—In 1853 the Queen's Remembrancer presented to the Edinburgh Museum (*Proc.*, i. p. 225) "two Roman Copper Coins, dug up in the garden of Lieutenant-Colonel Maclean, at the site of the Bishop's Palace, in Fortrose." From the descriptions on p. 226 it appears that they were a 'second brass' of Augustus, struck by Tiberius (*Coh.*², i. p. 94, No. 228), and a 'second brass' of Nero (*Coh.*², i. p. 290, Nos. 163 ff.).

SHETLAND ISLES.—In Gough's *Camden* (2nd ed., iv. p. 549), "Mr Lowe's MS. description of these islands" is cited as authority for the statement that "in this parish of Dunrossness was found in turning up a lee field a copper coin of Vespasian; Rev. *Judea devicta*; now in the possession of the earl of Morton." The fact had previously been noted, also on Low's authority, by Pennant in his *Arctic Zoology*. On p. 101 of his *Description of Shetland* (1822), Hibbert says that the discovery took place "about forty years ago"—that is, about 1782. In a note (p. 127) he quotes the *ipsissima verba* of "the late Reverend GEORGE LOW" as follows:—"In Dunrossness parish was some time ago found a copper medal of VESPASIAN, the reverse Judæa Victa. It was turned up in plowing the ground." This quotation is not unimportant. It makes it clear that, in speaking of "Judæa Victa," Low was referring to the *type* of a IVDAEA CAPTA coin, whereas Pennant and Gough have created an atmosphere of needless suspicion by assuming that he referred to the *legend*. The form IVDAEA DEVICTA seems to occur only on *A* and *R* of Vespasian.

And this is not the only help we get from Hibbert. On the same page (127) of the *Description* we read: "Mr Ross, (late of Lerwick,) was at considerable pains to collect all the remains of antiquity which

¹ It might, for instance, have been *Coh.*², iii. pp. 82 f., No. 838.

fell in his way, that were found in Shetland. In his possession I have seen, among other coins, a copper medal, bearing the inscription of Ser. Galba Imp. Caes. Aug.; another of VESPASIAN, and a silver coin of TRAJAN." Possibly the Vespasian was identical with that recorded by Low, although Hibbert himself does not suggest this. A further contribution which he makes to the subject is less fruitful. The paragraph immediately succeeding the one which has just been quoted, begins thus:—"In the Plate of Antiquities given in the Appendix, marked Fig. 2. a copper medal found in Shetland, bears on one side the name of L. ÆLIUS CÆSAR, and on the reverse "Pannoniæ Curia A E L; in which ÆLIUS is figured as receiving from a native of Pannonia a cornucopiæ and a household-god. Below are the letters S.C." The anticipations which this description excites are doomed to disappointment. The illustration reveals in the "copper medal" an indubitable 'Paduan.'

OUTER HEBRIDES.—In the Glasgow Corporation Museum at Kelvingrove are three coins of the late empire, which are stated to have been found near Lochmaddy (North Uist). They are somewhat worn, but appear to be—(1) a 'small brass' of Victorinus with SPES PVBLICA on the reverse (Coh.², vi. p. 82, No. 120), (2) a 'small brass' of Constantius II. with GLORIA EXERCITVS (Coh.², vii. pp. 455 f., No. 104), and (3) a 'large brass' of Gratian with REPARATIO REIPVBL (Coh.², viii. p. 130, Nos. 30 f.).

UNCERTAIN LOCALITIES.—*Proc.*, x. p. 461, states that on June 24, 1873, there was exhibited to the Society a gold coin of Nero, which had been sent to the Museum as treasure trove by the Queen's Remembrancer, and which must therefore have been found in Scotland. No details have, however, been preserved either at the Exchequer or in the Society's archives. The coin itself is probably the somewhat rubbed specimen of Coh.², i. p. 300, No. 313, now in the Society's collection. An *aureus* of Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 38, No. 187), seen by Gordon (p. 118) in the collection of the Rev. Robert Wodrow at Eastwood, would also seem to have been of Scottish *provenance*.

So far as isolated finds are concerned, this completes the list of 'Roman' coins in the strict sense of the term. There is, however, reason to believe that, in Roman times, stray 'colonial' and 'Greek imperial' pieces occasionally wandered as far as Britain in the ordinary course of trade.¹ The following facts are, therefore, worth putting on record:—(1) In March 1902 there was exhibited to the Glasgow Archæo-

¹ Mr G. F. Hill informs me that the records of the British Museum indicate that this was certainly so in the case of coins of Alexandria. Cf. H. H. E. Craster in *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd series, vi. pp. 254 ff.

logical Society a 'second brass' coin of Nemausus, with the heads of Augustus and Agrippa, which was said to have been found at Erskine in Renfrewshire. (2) Early in the present year Miss Meldrum, Pitlochry, sent for my inspection a billon coin of Alexandria, struck in the fourth year of Diocletian (287-288 A.D.), and having a figure of Athena on the reverse: it was found, she informed me, on an island in Fin Laggan Loch, Islay. (3) In *Proc.*, xxix. p. 60, mention is made of the discovery of a third-century coin of Alexandria at Pittyvaich House, Mortlach.¹ (4) In January 1890, the late Mr H. W. Young showed at a meeting of our Society a "Greek Imperial coin of Nero struck at Corinth, found at Burghead" (*Proc.*, xxiv. p. 146). (5) There is now in the National Museum a billon coin of Alexandria, struck in the second year of Carus (283-284 A.D.), and having the head of Numerianus on the obverse and a seated Athena on the reverse; a note, accompanying it, states that it was found in a fort in North Uist.

A conspectus of some of the results so far obtained will put us in a better position to appreciate their significance. The Table printed on the opposite page will show how matters stand. It will be observed that in the Table the various classes of coins have been divided into three well-marked chronological groups. As the earliest of these is at once the most important and the most difficult to deal with, it may simplify our task if we begin with the latest and work our way backwards. One characteristic of what may be called the fourth-century group will strike the eye at once. While coins belonging to it occur fairly frequently in Scotland, there is not a single well-authenticated instance of their having been found on the site of a Roman fort.² That is, during the period which it covers, there was no military occupation of the country by the Romans. On the other hand, the number of specimens found at Traprain Law and elsewhere is sufficiently large to show that, at intervals at all events, the relations between the dwellers to the north and the dwellers to the south of Hadrian's Wall must have been tolerably peaceful. Traders would come and go, with waggon or pack-horse, or on foot. Ships laden with merchandise—Gaulish pottery and the like—would now and again thread their way cautiously through the sounds of the Atlantic seaboard to the farthest Hebrides. The more venturesome among these mariners might even round Cape Wrath and visit distant Thule. Everywhere the money that they left behind them would be prized for its possible use as a native currency.

In all this, of course, there was nothing peculiar to the fourth century

¹ There was a 'brass' of Marcus along with it. See *supra*, p. 248.

² For doubtful, or more than doubtful, cases see *supra*, pp. 211, 214, 216, and 218 f. They are indicated in the Table by points of interrogation.

TABLE SHOWING THE CLASSES OF ROMAN COINS FOUND IN SCOTLAND
AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THEIR DISCOVERY.

Class of Coin.	(A) Found on Roman sites.	(B) Found on native sites.	(C) Found on inhabited sites, chiefly native.	(D) No association recorded.
Republican Denarii	×			
M. Antony (before 31 B.C.)	×	×		
Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.)	×		✓	×
Tiberius (14-37 A.D.)	×			×
Germanicus (before 19 A.D.)	×			
Claudius (41-54 A.D.)	×			
Antonia (<i>circa</i> 40 A.D.)	✓		×	
Nero (54-68 A.D.)	✓			×
Galba (68-69 A.D.)	×			×
Otho (69 A.D.)	✓			×
Vitellius (69 A.D.)	×			×
Vespasian (69-79 A.D.)	×	×	×	×
Titus (79-81 A.D.)	×			×
Domitian (81-96 A.D.)	×	×	✓	×
Nerva (96-98 A.D.)	×	×		
Trajan (98-117 A.D.)	×		×	✓
Hadrian (117-138 A.D.)	✓	×	×	×
Sabina (126-136 A.D.)	✓			
Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.)	×	×		×
Faustina Sen. ¹ (<i>circa</i> 141 A.D.)	×		×	×
Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.)	✓		×	×
Faustina Jun. (before 176 A.D.)	×			
L. Verus (161-169 A.D.)	×			
Lucilla (164-183 A.D.)	×			
Commodus (180-192 A.D.)	×			×
Crispina (180-183 A.D.)	×	×		×
Pertinax (193 A.D.)			×	
Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.)	×		✓	×
Julia Domna (193-217 A.D.)	×			
Caracalla (211-217 A.D.)	×		×	
Plautilla (<i>circa</i> 202 A.D.)	×			
Geta (before 212 A.D.)	×			
Maximinus (235-238 A.D.)				×
Victorinus (263-267 A.D.)				×
Numerianus (282-284 A.D.)			✓	
Diocletian (284-305 A.D.)	?		×	
Constantius I. (305-306 A.D.)	?			?
Constantine I. (306-337 A.D.)	?	✓		×
Crispus (317-326 A.D.)				×
Constantine II. (337-340 A.D.)	?	×		
Constantius II. (335-361 A.D.)				×
Magnentius (350-353 A.D.)		✓		
Valentinian I. (364-375 A.D.)		×		×
Valens (364-378 A.D.)			×	
Gratian (367-383 A.D.)				×
Arcadius (395-408 A.D.)		?		
Honorius (395-423 A.D.)				×

¹ Where the records fail to distinguish between Faustina Senior and her daughter, I have credited the coins to the mother. The general result is in no way affected.

² The gold coin found at Leochel-Cushnie may have belonged either to Constantius I. or to Constantius II.

It may be confidently assumed that by far the larger proportion of the finds indicated in the three last columns of the Table represent, in the case of each of our groups, coins that had fallen from native rather than from Roman hands. In other words, from the second century onwards, if not indeed from the first, there must have been a considerable amount of intercourse, which it would perhaps be too much to call friendly, but which was, at all events, neighbourly enough to permit of the infiltration of goods and of money. This conclusion is in entire harmony with other observed archæological facts. It affords the only satisfactory explanation of the presence of Roman pottery on native sites scattered, almost literally, "from Maidenkirk to John o' Groats." Amphora-handles and fragments of Samian ware, including some of first or early second century date, occur in the sea-caves of Wigton, Haddington and Fife, in the Ayrshire and Lanarkshire crannogs, in the hill-forts of East Lothian and Argyll, in the earth-houses of the north-east, on a kitchen-midden in Lewis, and in the brochs, not merely of Selkirk and Midlothian, but even of Caithness and the Orkneys. It hardly needs to be pointed out that the relations to which these discoveries bear witness cannot have been continuous. They would be rudely interrupted whenever the fires of war, always smouldering, broke out into a flame. It is tempting to interpret the interval that separates the third group in our Table from the second—fifty years, if we leave Maximinus out of the reckoning—as significant of a period of prolonged unrest. Possibly it may be so. But it would be rash to dogmatise. Coins belonging to this particular half-century are relatively scarce on Hadrian's Wall and in other parts of Southern Britain. Their absence from our Table may, therefore, be due to a general rather than to a local cause.

After what has been said in the preceding paragraph, we are free to concentrate on the first column of the Table in dealing with the two groups that remain. The lesson of the second of these is very easily read, if we remember that no Roman fort save Cramond has yielded coins of Severus and his family, and that the specimens discovered there were numerous. Twenty years ago, when Mrs Callander's collection was still unknown, Haverfield suggested (p. 159) that the "two or three denarii" of Severus from Cramond were "perhaps due to accidental intercourse," although he agreed (p. 161) that it was "quite credible" that they might be "in some way connected with" the Emperor's march into Caledonia. The abundant material now on record makes the first hypothesis untenable. It seems certain that Cramond played an important part in the Caledonian expedition so grandiloquently described by Herodian and Cassius Dio. And the contrast with Newstead may justify us in going further. There were two routes, one or other of which an invading army

would naturally employ in advancing on Cramond from behind the shelter of Hadrian's Wall. The more obvious of these was what had been in the first and second centuries the great trunk-road by the Cheviots and the Eildons. If that had been followed, we should suppose that Trimontium must have been strongly held as a vital link in the line of communications of the expeditionary force. Yet, in spite of the most diligent search, Mr Curle failed to find the faintest trace of a third-century occupation of Newstead. It may, therefore, be suggested that Severus adopted the alternative plan of transporting his troops by sea from the mouth of the Tyne to the Forth. On the assumption that the Caledonians dwelt beyond the northern isthmus and the Mæatæ between the Walls,¹ this suggestion would agree admirably with Cassius Dio's limitation of the original invasion of Severus to Caledonia.² His trouble with the Mæatæ came later, although they would seem to have been embraced in his scheme of conquest from the outset.³ If the Caledonians were to be attacked first, the choice of a sea-route at once becomes intelligible.

Unlike the group we have been discussing, the first of the three in our Table embraces two historical periods. Therein lies the difficulty attaching to its right interpretation. The consular *denarii* it contains were in all probability lost during the Flavian era. At the other end of the scale is a long series of emperors and empresses whose money cannot have appeared in Scotland until after the building of the Forth and Clyde Wall. Between these two extremes lies a doubtful region. Some of the coins of the first-century emperors must have been dropped during the Agricolan occupation. It is no less certain that others should be associated with the occupation that began under Pius. Discrimination is, however, impossible, save in those very rare cases where the fine preservation of a 'brass' coin proves that it cannot have been in circulation for more than a year or two at the outside. Consequently it was only here and there that the numismatic evidence, taken by itself, enabled us to detect the footsteps of Agricola. Republican *denarii* were noted at Cramond and at Newstead, while the latter fort also produced one or two 'second brass' of Domitian almost in mint condition. Again, both at Newstead and at Camelon the relatively high proportion of Flavian 'brass' was seen to be significant. Beyond these there were no definite indications. On the other hand, the signs of second-century occupancy could be recognised almost everywhere. A summary of the finds from the 'stations' on the Wall will serve as an illustration:—

¹ See *Roman Wall*, pp. 15 f.

² After indicating (lxxvi. c. 12) the geographical situation of the territory of each of the two tribes, he says explicitly (c. 13) that Severus ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Καληδονίαν.

³ Dio says (*l.c.*) πᾶσαν [τὴν νῆσον] καταστρέψασθαι θελήσας.

CONSPECTUS OF COIN-FINDS FROM THE ANTONINE WALL.

Class of Coin.	<i>A.</i>	<i>A.</i>	<i>Æ.</i>
M. Antony . . .		<	
Galba . . .			×
Vitellius . . .		×	
Vespasian . . .	×	×	
Domitian . . .		×	×
Nerva . . .		×	
Trajan . . .	×	×	×
Hadrian . . .	×	×	×
Sabina . . .			×
Antoninus Pius . .		×	×
Faustina . . .		×	
Marcus Aurelius .		×	×
L. Verus . . .			×
Commodus . . .		? ¹	×

The second-century complexion of this list is apparent on the surface. Note, for instance, that the *Æ* of Vespasian is actually not represented at all, and that Titus is conspicuous by his absence. And the dominance of the Antonine period would be even more strongly marked, if the statements in the older authorities were sufficiently precise to admit of complete figures for each of the varieties being given. So far as the testimony of the coins goes, Agricola need never have occupied the Forth and Clyde isthmus at any period of his career. Yet we know from Tacitus that he built a chain of forts from end to end of it in A.D. 81. The complete outline of one of these forts has, as a matter of fact, been recovered, and traces of two more have been detected. There can be but one explanation of the great scarcity, or rather the entire lack, of numismatic evidence for a first-century tenure of the isthmus: the time during which the Agricolan forts were garrisoned must have been very short. This conclusion is amply corroborated by the witness of the pottery. One or two fragments of 'early' Samian ware have been observed at Rough Castle and Castlecary; the rest can be dated to the second century. It looks, then, as if the coins of our first group were going to provide us with nothing more novel than a seeming confirmation of what Tacitus suggests as to the speedy abandonment of Agricola's northern conquests—"perdomita Britannia et statim missa." Before acquiescing, however, we must look into the matter more closely, remembering that what appeared at one time to be the lesson of the Wall² itself, has had to be unlearned in face of the emergence of abundant Agricolan remains at Newstead, Camelon, and Inchtuthil.

¹ It is not clear whether the coins of Commodus reported from Kirkintilloch (*supra*, p. 224) were *denarii* or not.

² *Roman Forts on the Bar Hill*, pp. 129 ff. (= *Proc.*, xl. pp. 531 f.).

Attention has already been called to the difficulties that surround the problem. None of the ordinary methods of approaching it seem promising. A change of tactics may be helpful. If, for instance, we bring together the whole of the *gold* finds represented in the first group of the Table, irrespective of the column to which they belong, we get the following list:—

Newstead.—Nero (2), Titus, Trajan, Pius.
Inveresk.—Vespasian, Trajan.
Cramond.—Pius.
Carriden.—Vespasian.
Auchendavy.—Trajan.
Duntocher.—Vespasian, Hadrian.
Biggar.—Vespasian.
Eccles.—Nero.
Dunbar.—Nero.
Penicuik.—Vitellius.

Canonbie.—Nero.
Broomholm.—Nero (3), Vespasian (2), Domitian.
Wauchope Bridge.—Otho.
Dumfries.—Augustus, Trajan.
Carlisle.—Otho, Nero.
Glasgow.—Nero.
Drymen.—Nero, Trajan.
Kinnell.—Pius.
Inverurie.—Vespasian.
Uncertain Localities.—Nero, Trajan.

We may disregard the coin of Augustus. Whenever and however it made its way into the Nith, it had been withdrawn from ordinary currency long before Agricola's first advance into Scotland; Nero had made it too valuable by reducing the weight of the *aureus*. It will be instructive to compare the distribution of the remainder with that of the contents of the great Corbridge hoard of 1911, buried about 160 A.D.¹:—

TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF GOLD COINS.

Class of Coin.	Scottish Finds (34).	Corbridge Hoard (160).
Nero	12	10
Galba		3
Otho	2	3
Vitellius	1	1
Vespasian	7	15
Titus	1	11
Domitian	1	5
Trajan	6	47
Marciana		1
Hadrian and Trajan . . .		1
Hadrian	1	35
Sabina		3
Ælius		1
Pius	3	12
Pius and Marcus		1
Faustina Sen.		7
Marcus		4

¹ See *Num. Chron.*, 1912, pp. 265 ff.

This is a very remarkable result. Casual finds, if reasonably numerous, reflect in more trustworthy fashion than do hoards the character of the money that was in circulation throughout the period during which they were lost. Hoards represent the accumulated savings of many years, and will therefore always contain a proportion of coins that were relatively old at the date of final concealment. The Corbridge hoard was hidden away about the beginning of the reign of Marcus. Accordingly, subject to the reservation suggested above, it ought to give us a fairly accurate picture of the gold currency of Roman Britain at the very time when the frontier of the province extended to the Forth and Clyde Wall. What, then, is its composition? The expected admixture of older pieces is present in the shape of 30 per cent. of Flavian or pre-Flavian issues; the reign of Trajan accounts for other 30 per cent.; the balance of 40 per cent. falls into the reign of Hadrian or later. If the Scottish gold-finds represent the casual losses of the thirty or forty years that succeeded the building of the Wall, they ought to include a considerably larger percentage of Hadrianic and subsequent issues, and to show a corresponding reduction in the percentage of the earlier classes. The actuality is in startling contrast with the anticipation. The Flavian or pre-Flavian issues amount to more than 70 per cent. of the whole; Trajan absorbs rather less than 18 per cent.; a beggarly allowance of barely 12 per cent. is all that is left for Hadrian and his successors. Nero, who opens both lists, has twelve specimens to his credit north of the Tweed, as against only ten at Corbridge. There is but one way of explaining these facts. The greater part of the Roman gold found in Scotland was lost, not during the Antonine period, but during the period that was inaugurated by Agricola's invasion.

It appears to follow that the 'Agricolan' occupation cannot possibly have been limited to the three or four years of active campaigning which ended with that general's recall in A.D. 84. The numismatic evidence from Inchtuthil and Newstead has already taught us that those two forts must have been garrisoned by Roman troops for at least a couple of years longer. The vista now opened up is far more extensive. It suggests that the hold which Agricola had gained over southern Scotland was firmly maintained by the legates who came after him. Such a conclusion would be in complete harmony with the abundance of early pottery at Newstead and at Camelon, as well as with the repairs to the bath-house at the purely 'Agricolan' settlement of Inchtuthil. In a word, it looks as if the occupation which began in the first century may have lasted until well on in the reign of Trajan, if not till the outbreak of the tremendous storm whose final subsidence was marked by the building of Hadrian's Wall. Nor would this necessarily conflict

with the scarcity of first-century remains on the Agricolan sites that have been discovered along the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde. On the contrary, it would clear up the general situation there in a very satisfactory way. The barrier of A.D. 81 was exactly what Tacitus represents it to have been—a temporary expedient designed to secure a breathing-space for a further advance. The forts by which the conquered territory was ultimately kept in subjection were not arranged transversely in the form of a *limes imperii*, but longitudinally along the main line or lines of penetration. In this connexion it is worth recalling that the idea of artificial *limites* is not older than the reign of Hadrian.¹

Passing from isolated finds, we have next to consider hoards. Here the obvious principle of division is by metals. It was pointed out above that the finds of gold at Broomholm and at Drymen might fairly enough have been reckoned as tiny hoards. But it seemed better to reserve the term for such substantial accumulations of silver and 'brass' as we shall have to deal with now. In the case of each of these metals we can distinguish two classes, an earlier and a later. The earlier class of *Æ* and the earlier class of *℞* seem both alike to have been buried towards the close of the Antonine period. The later class of *℞* includes coins of Severus and his family, while the later class of *Æ* belongs to the fourth century. In some cases the information that has come down to us is too scanty to admit of perfect confidence in drawing the line between 'earlier' and 'later' hoards of *℞*. The distinction, therefore, does not afford a very satisfactory basis for arranging our list. It will be easier to adopt, as before, a geographical framework, and to make chronology in the meantime a secondary issue.

(A) *HOARDS OF SILVER.*

(a) *South-Eastern Scotland.*

LAUDER (Berwickshire).—The belief that a hoard of Roman coins was found at Lauder rests on a misunderstanding. Haverfield (p. 164) describes the story as "plainly erroneous," and the error can be tracked to its source. The writer of the description of the parish in *O.S.A.*, i. (1791), says (p. 77):—

"A considerable quantity of Spanish, Scotch, and English coins, have been dug up. The antiquity of the first extends no further than the age of Elizabeth. The Scotch and English belong to the age of Edward Longshanks, and Alexander I. of Scotland; and some of them are of later date. The minister of Lauder is in possession of some of these coins, and also of several Roman coins, whose inscriptions are, *Lucius Flaminius. Julius Cæsar, &c.*"

¹ Spartian, *Vita Hadriani*, 12, 6.

In 1833 this was reproduced in *N.S.A.*, ii. ("Berwickshire") p. 5, as follows:—

"Spanish, Scottish, and English coins have been dug up, some of which Dr Ford, the former minister, had in his possession, as well as several Roman coins inscribed with the names of Julius Cæsar, Lucius Flaminius, and others."

Read carefully, the first of these passages is innocent enough. The minister, as in duty bound, records the discovery at Lauder of certain Spanish, Scottish, and English coins, some of which have passed into his own possession. But he cannot resist the temptation of going a step farther. He was a bit of a collector, and had evidently a collector's pride in the contents of his modest cabinet. Why should the world not know that he owned some Roman coins? Dr Ford's successor of 1833 seems to have misunderstood him. Or, if he did not misunderstand him, he at all events expressed himself in a very misleading way. The second passage, if it had stood alone, might very well have been taken as implying that the Roman coins were actually dug up at Lauder. In point of fact, it has been so taken. Hence the myth, which is now, it may be hoped, dispelled.

EDINBURGH.—In a letter to Roger Gale of date March 5, 1741-2, Sir John Clerk states that, in pulling down an old arch in Edinburgh, there was found "an urn . . . with a good many silver coins, all of them common except one of Faustina Minor." His description shows that the exception was Coh.², iii. p. 152, No. 190, 191, or 192. Coins of Faustina occur both in 'early' and in 'late' hoards of *Æ*, so that it is impossible to say to which of our two classes the Edinburgh find belonged. Clerk's letter was printed in *Reliquiæ Galeanæ* (Gough's *Bibl. Topogr. Brit.*, iii. p. 348), and it appears again in *Stukeley's Letters* (Surtees Soc., iii. p. 420). The relevant extract is quoted in full by Wilson in his *Prehistoric Annals* (p. 387), whence the reference in Stuart, p. 165.

LINLITHGOW (near).—From Smellie, i., we learn (p. 58) that on July 31, 1781, the Town Clerk of Linlithgow presented to the Society's Museum four Roman *denarii* (Vespasian, Hadrian, Pius, and Marcus), and also (p. 60) that, exactly a fortnight later, the Provost of the Burgh followed this up with a further donation of nine, being one each of Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Pius, Marcus, and two each of Hadrian and Faustina. These entries are illuminated by the writer of the description of Linlithgow in *O.S.A.*, xiv. (1795), who says (p. 570): "Some years ago, several Roman coins were found in the Burrowmuir, amounting to about 300." A footnote adds details:—

"They had been deposited in an earthen urn, which the plough broke, and were picked up in lumps, by some persons who followed it to gather stones. The town, as superior, claimed the treasure. The pieces were not above the size of a sixpence, all silver, and having different dates and impressions. They were probably the collection of some virtuoso, and being involved in rust, would form a sweet morsel to antiquaries."

The notices in Smellie justify us in giving July 1781 as the date of the find. Lindsay (p. 261) puts it in August, doubtless because he connected it only with the Provost's donation, not with the Town Clerk's. The corresponding passage in *N.S.A.*, ii. ("Linlithgowshire") p. 175, which was written in 1843, tells us nothing new, while Chalmers (p. 166), with characteristic inaccuracy, declares that "three hundred of these coins were presented to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh by Robert Clerk, the respectable provost of Linlithgow." This assertion is fortified by a reference to p. 60 of Smellie, where the nine *denarii* that constituted the Provost's gift are enumerated! What came to the Museum was, of course, a selection, but it was (we may be sure) a representative selection; it would include examples of each leading variety. This is important, partly because it enables us to say that this particular hoard belonged to the 'early' class, and partly because it shows us the spirit in which intelligent donors who had the command of a hoard were wont to interpret their duty towards the Museum. This is not the only occasion on which we shall find a representative selection handed over, and here and there we may have to argue back from a representative selection to a hoard.

(b) *South-Western Scotland.*

GREATLAWS (Peeblesshire).—The parish of Skirling, in which Greatlaws lies, may fairly be reckoned as being in South-Western Scotland. *N.S.A.*, iii. ("Peeblesshire") p. 101, mentions the finding of "various ancient coins of the reigns of Adrian and Antoninus . . . about twenty years ago [*i.e.* about 1814] near a place called Greatlaws in the north-east quarter of the parish." Though the language is vague, it seems certain that this was a small hoard, belonging perhaps to the 'early' class. The writer adds that the coins are "now [1834] in the possession of Laurence Brown, Esq. of Edmonstone, Lanarkshire." Edmonstone, it should be explained, is in Biggar parish, just over the border from Skirling.

LANARK (near).—Stuart (p. 140) informs us, on the authority of Dr John Buchanan, that "in 1847, a hoard of Roman silver coins was discovered about one and a half miles east from Lanark, during the

formation of the Caledonian Railway, in the lower part of a cairn of stones. They were lying about a foot under the surface, and included coins of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, in excellent preservation." This would appear to have been an 'early' hoard.

STRATHAVEN (Lanarkshire).—Chalmers has the following footnote on p. 138:—

"On the 5th of March, 1805, some labourers who were employed in making a drain at Torfoot, some miles south-west of the village of Strathaven, discovered a glass bottle of an oblong square form, which was surrounded by several stones artificially placed for its preservation. The bottle was carefully sealed up with a greenish pigment, and upon being opened, was found to contain about 400 Roman silver coins of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Crispina, and of various other emperors and empresses."

A very similar story is told by Lindsay (p. 265), who, however, gives the year as 1803:—

"At Torfoot seven miles west of Strathaven in Lanarkshire, a boy in clearing out a drain at the foot of a rising ground struck upon a glass vessel containing 400 Roman silver coins of various Emperors and Empresses, viz. Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Marcus Aurelius, Crispina, Caesar, Pompey, Crassus, &c."

There can be no doubt as to these two extracts referring to one and the same find, the difference of date notwithstanding. Lindsay's mention of "Cæsar, Pompey, Crassus" is clearly a mistake, due in all probability, as Haverfield (p. 163) suggests, to a misunderstanding of the title *III VIRRPC* on legionary *denarii* of Mark Antony, some of which would naturally be present. It is obvious that the hoard was of the 'early' class. Its discovery is recorded without any details in the description of the parish of Avondale (1835) in *N.S.A.*, vi. p. 303, and again in the description of the parish of Galston (1837) in *N.S.A.*, v. ("Ayrshire") p. 181, where it is said to have been made "a little to the eastward" of Loudon Hill, and where the contents are reported to have included a coin "inscribed *DIVVS ANTONINVS*" and "many more."

Stuart (p. 261) speaks of *two* finds in this neighbourhood: "In 1800 a considerable number of *denarii* of Vespasian, Hadrian, and Faustina, were dug up . . . at Torfoot in Strathaven parish. In 1803 some 300 or 400 more were discovered in the same part of the country. Many of them we have seen." The latter of these notices obviously refers to the find described by Chalmers and Lindsay, which it helps to fix to 1803 rather than to 1805. The former is almost certainly a mere duplication. If the coins were distributed among

various persons, confusion in regard to dates need cause no surprise. Apparently it had begun as early as the time of Chalmers, and thirty or forty years later the risk would be much more pronounced.

AIRDRIE (Lanarkshire).—The only account of this find hitherto published is that given by Haverfield (p. 163). His statement was based on information supplied by my late father, among whose MS. notes of *circa* 1898 there occurs the following passage under "Airdrie":—

"A large hoard of Roman coins was discovered here about sixty years ago, which seems to be unrecorded. A number of them were seen shortly afterwards by Mr R. Carfrae, and all were of the early emperors."

Those who had the privilege of Mr Carfrae's personal acquaintance will agree that there could not have been a more trustworthy witness. Nevertheless the 'Airdrie hoard' must be expunged from the list. It is without doubt identical with that which has now to be described.

BRACO (Lanarkshire).—The name of Braco in Lanarkshire is not to be found in the *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, a circumstance which doubtless explains how an 'Airdrie hoard' originally came to figure in the catalogue. It would never have secured a place there at all, had it been realised that the spot where the 'Braco hoard' was unearthed was only about three miles east of Airdrie and a mile to the south or south-west of Caldercruix Railway Station.¹ Three years after it came to light, it was noticed by Stuart in the first edition of his *Caledonia Romana*. The notice is repeated without alteration in his second edition (p. 260):—

"The coins here mentioned were discovered in 1842, in removing some sods from the surface of a piece of moss land. They amounted to several hundreds, principally of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Faustina, and most of them were in good preservation. Some of them were procured by Dr Clark of Wester Moffat, and by John Buchanan, Esq., Glasgow, in whose possession they now are."

Subsequently the Crown authorities appear to have got wind of the find, and to have taken steps to make good their claim. *Proc.*, i. p. 72, records the presentation to the Society of Antiquaries by the Queen's Remembrancer of 14 *denarii* "found on the line of the Roman Road near Braco." Though they were not laid on the Table till May 10, 1852, they must plainly have belonged to the hoard of ten years earlier. They are interesting as giving its limits, for we are justified in assuming that, as was the case with the hoard from

¹ This is proved by the Ordnance Survey records, as I have ascertained through the kindness of Mr J. Mathieson.

Linlithgow, typical examples of all the main varieties would be included. The list is as follows:—*Gens Postumia* (1), Galba (1), Domitian (1), Trajan (2), Hadrian (3), Sabina (1), Pius (1), Marcus (1), Lucilla (1), Commodus (1), Crispina (1). The hoard was, therefore, of the 'early' class, while the presence of consular *denarii* shows that its accumulation had begun in Flavian times. It is worth noting that Lindsay (Suppl., i. pp. 53 f.) assumes that the fourteen coins presented to the Society included the whole find, for he adds: "The great number of reigns exhibited in so small a hoard would lead us to suppose that it was the property of a coin collector." That is, he failed to appreciate the working of the principle of representative selection.

WEST CALDER (Midlothian).—A small hoard, belonging apparently to the 'early' class, was found here in 1810. It is noticed in the *Scots Magazine* for that year (pp. 323 f.), where four of the obverses are engraved, and also by Lindsay (p. 266). A rather fuller account of the incident was, however, published in Andrew Steele's *History of Peat-Moss or Turf-Bog* (Edinburgh, 1826, pp. 379 f.). Steele was the owner of the estate of Crosswoodhill, and he tells how his servants, in digging a drain through the moss (part of 'Cobbinshaw Bog),

"found, at the depth of about four feet from the surface, a number of ancient Roman silver medals in great preservation. . . . From the circumstances in which these coins were found, it is probable they were dropped on the surface of the ground upwards of 1600 years ago, and that the ground was then covered with a growing wood, as appears from the branches of birch trees (that have still their form and bark entire) in which the coins were enveloped."

There is no complete inventory, but we are told that the coins were of Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Pius, Faustina (at least two), and Marcus (several). Steele and others have shown a disposition to connect this discovery with the proximity of Castle Greg, regarding which see *supra*, p. 221. We have already seen (*l.c.*) that it was responsible for some of the myths that have grown up round that fort.

KIRKINTILLOCH (Dumbartonshire).—A small hoard of the 'early' class was discovered at Kirkintilloch in 1893, along with an iron spearhead and a large nail. The exact spot was on the low ground on the south side of the Wall, about half a mile east of the Peel. From *Proc.*, xxviii. p. 276, it would appear that only 24 *denarii* were surrendered to the Crown. The full number in the hoard was, however, 42,¹ which were distributed thus:—Vespasian (2), Titus (1), Domitian

¹ See *Roman Wall*, p. 379.

(4), Nerva (1), Trajan (15), Hadrian (18), Faustina Junior (1). According to the *Papers of the Regality Club* (iii. p. 38), 10 of them were presented to the Hunterian Museum.

(c) *Scotland North of the Antonine Wall.*

DRUMMOND CASTLE (Perthshire).—In the Tenth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (App., i. p. 130) there is printed a letter addressed by James, Lord Drummond, afterwards fourth Earl of Perth, to Mr Patrick Drummond, and bearing date 15th January, 1672. It gives a very interesting account of what seems to have been a large hoard of the 'early' class, found a few miles to the north of the Castle, not far from the river Earn. As mentioned *supra*, p. 232, some of the coins were seen by Sibbald.

"Latly near Drummond (that's to say within 5 myles) amongst the hills which lye at its back, towards the Forrest which belongs to my Father, two countrey men intending to build a new kiln for corn in the seat of an old oregroun one, and searching deep to lay its foundation found a great ring of gold and a considderable deal of monye which they disposed of to pedlers. for its weight in the common coyne of this countrie: they carried it to goldsmithes in Perth: and for a very inconsiderable gain sold them. Only one accidentally came to Drummond, where my father was about his affairs in that place, who bought about 24 of the pieces. They are about the bredth of a very large 3 pence and thryce as thick or more. I have not yet taken perticuler notice to them, bot these I saw had upon them Domitian. Commodus, Antoninus Pius, Trajan and Diva Faustina. Their reuerse were different as uel as their obuerse. I belive there be more heads amongst them. The figures are excellently uel stampd and by their dresse appear to haue bein as old as those they represent. If you intend to speak of them to any, send me word and I uil aske some of them from my father; for most of them he has tuice or thrice. The thing I am most concerned at is the goldsmiths put them in work (lyke fools) for they might haue had much gain by them, bot the silver was so good it would not mixe with thers until a third part of alloye was joyned to them. They say, ther was more than a bushel of them; bot all the inquiry I could make. could not get me any of them."

TAYMOUTH (Perthshire).—Pennant (iii. p. 25) speaks of fourteen Roman coins of silver, "none of a later date than *Marcus Aurelius*," as having been discovered "in digging the foundation of a tower near *Taymouth*." Again, in the description of the parish of Kenmore (1834) in *N.S.A.*, x. (p. 468), there occurs the following quotation from a manuscript at Taymouth Castle:—

"In the year 1755, in making a road across the hill from Taymouth to Glenquiach, there were found, near the crest of the hill, twelve Roman coins, about three inches under the surface of the ground, in what seemed like a bed of charcoal. They appear to be of silver, of the

circumference of a sixpenny piece, but much thicker. The dies and inscriptions on most of them are distinct and legible. They are of the Antonines and their Empresses. They are at Taymouth."

This little hoard was, therefore, of the 'early' class. The "bed of charcoal" would no doubt be the remains of a wooden box in which the treasure had been concealed. In spite of the differences in circumstantial detail, it is more than likely that Pennant's find and that recorded in the Taymouth manuscript are one and the same. The reference in Gough's *Camden* (2nd ed., iv. p. 137) is obviously borrowed from Pennant, and so too is Chalmers, pp. 174 and 181.

PORTMOAK (Kinross).—Lindsay (Suppl., i. p. 51) says:—

"1851.—In a moss near Kinross was found a hoard of from 700 to 800 Roman Denarii; they were of Galba, (one) Otho, (two) Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Senr., Marcus Aurelius, Faustina, Junr., Commodus and Severus, and mostly poor, the Galba Rev. ROMA. RENASC. being by far the best.

1851. Oct.—A boy whilst reaping in the Parish of Portmoak, Fifeshire, turned up a Roman coin with the point of his hook; on further search upwards of 600 Roman denarii were found all lying close together, as if they had been enclosed in a bag, and at a depth of only three or four inches from the surface, at the same spot were found an iron sword, and a beautiful but imperfect silver ornament thought to have formed the crest of a helmet, the series extended from Nero to Severus, both inclusive, and is thought to have formed the treasure of a soldier in the Northern expedition of Sept. Severus, A.D., 208, the coins are described at full length in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 60."

The foregoing extract shows that Lindsay believed in the existence of two distinct hoards, one from Kinross and the other from Fife. A reference to *Proc.*, i. p. 60, which he cites as his authority for the second, enables us to see that the two hoards were really one, while at the same time it supplies us with a clue to the origin of the mistake. In stating that the find was made "in the parish of Portmoak, Fifeshire," Lindsay is reproducing *Proc.* verbally. Had he realised that Portmoak is not in Fife at all, but in Kinross, he would have seen that the first story, which must have reached him through another channel, was merely a variant of the second. It is true that in one account the coins are said to have been discovered "in a moss," and in the other to have been discovered on arable land. *Proc.* furnishes an explanation of the apparent contradiction: "The field where they were found was formerly a deep bog, which, by draining and burning, has been brought into cultivation, and is now good corn-land." A large selection of pieces from this interesting hoard, 103 to be precise, found their way into the Museum, and are still kept apart in the trays. They are described in *Proc.*, i. pp. 60 ff., and may be summarised as

follows:—Nero (1), Galba (1), Otho (1), Vitellius (2), Vespasian (6), Titus (2), Domitian (3), Nerva (1), Trajan (10), Hadrian (17), Sabina (1), Pius (19), Faustina Senior (8), Marcus (10), Faustina Junior (6), Verus (3), Lucilla (3), Commodus (7), Severus (2). The hoard accordingly belonged to the later of our two classes of *R*.

The confusion which has been cleared up in the preceding paragraph is not the only one of which this find has been the victim. In the second edition of Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals* (ii. p. 27) we read: "A valuable hoard, amounting to about 700 Roman silver coins, dug up in the vicinity of Kinross, towards the close of 1857, belongs apparently to the latter expedition,¹ as it included the entire series from Nero to Severus." The date, of course, should be "1851," not "1857." Sir Daniel Wilson had moved to Toronto before the second edition of his book appeared, and the slip is doubtless to be explained by the fact that he was separated from his material by the width of the Atlantic. In the circumstances it is worth quoting an extract from a letter which he wrote to Mr Roach Smith in January 1852, and which the latter reprinted in his *Retrospections* (ii. p. 180):—

"A hoard of fine Roman silver, upwards of 600 in number, was dug up last month at Kinross, including a complete series, with many varieties, from Nero to Severus. I have secured a portion for the Museum; but thanks to our wise Treasure Trove laws, we dare not make so interesting a fact public."

LEVEN (Fifeshire).—One of the oldest finds, though not quite the oldest, of which we have any record is that reported from Fife by Hector Boece in his *Scotorum Historiæ*. The passage (ed. 1575, fo. 86, verso, near end of liber v.) runs thus:—

"*Nuper anno salutis humanæ undevigesimo supra millesimum quingentesimum, in Fifa, haud procul a Levini amnis ostio, quam plurimi nummi a pastoribus reperti sunt: æneo vase conditi, nonnulli aurei, argentei alij. Nota quibusdam, Ianus geminus ac navis rostrum, aliis Martis, Veneris, Mercurij, alteriusve idoli effigies: nonnullis lupa pueros Romulum Remumque uberibus lactans, omnibus vero alteri laterum, Romani principis figura subscriptione adjecta, aut sequentes characteres impressi. S.P.Q.R.*"

Or in Bellenden's translation (ed. 1821, i. p. 195):—

"For in the yeir of God M. DXIX yeris, in Fiffe, nocht far fra Levin, war certane penneis found, in ane brasin veschell, with uncouth cunye: sum of thaim war prentit with doubill visage of Janus; otheris with the stam of ane schip; otheris had the figure of Mars, Venus, Mercurius and siklike idolis; on others war prentit Romulus and Remus sowkand ane wolf; and on the tothir side war prentit S.P.Q.R., quhilk signifyis . . . the senat and pepil of Rome."

¹ *I.e.* the expedition of Severus.

The translation is not as accurate as it might be. In particular, the concluding words are so mangled as to obscure Boece's remarkable statement that all of the coins had on one side *either* the head of an emperor *or* the letters SPQR. If pieces on which SPQR took the place of the imperial head were really present, they can only have been so-called 'autonomous' *denarii* of 68 and 69 A.D.,¹ and their appearance would suggest that the hoard should be associated with the Agricolan period rather than with the Antonine period or with the expedition of Severus. To lay too much stress upon the point would, however, be unwise, even although Boece is hardly likely to have invented this detail, despite his prolific imagination. The description of the types sounds fanciful, and a mixed hoard of gold and silver would be very unusual, though not impossible. All that we can safely say is that a deposit of Roman coins was discovered near Leven in 1519.

LARGO (Fifeshire).—In the description of the parish of Largo (1837) in *N.S.A.*, ix. ("Fifeshire") p. 439, we are told that—

"On a rising-ground to the north, called Norrie's Law, several antiquities in silver were discovered, together with a number of small Roman coins, bearing the stamp of the earlier emperors. They are now in the possession of General Durham."

It is virtually certain that we have here a distorted account of the great hoard of silver ornaments found at Norrie's Law about 1819. They were unfortunately melted down almost at once. Subsequent search on the same spot brought to light a few remnants that had been unnoticed at first, and also two or three coins. These are referred to *supra*, p. 238. The whole matter is discussed at length by Dr Joseph Anderson in his *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (Second Series, pp. 34 ff.), where the deposit is tentatively attributed to the seventh century at the earliest. Despite the positive assertion of *N.S.A.*, there is no evidence for the discovery of any coins save those already mentioned.

PITCULLO (Fifeshire).—Smellie records (i. p. 41) the presentation to the Society in February 1781, by Mrs Trent of Pitcullo, of "nineteen Roman silver coins of the Emperors Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and the Empress Faustina, which were turned up by the plough at Pitcullo in Fife." This is repeated by Lindsay (p. 261), with the obvious misprint of "Patullo" for "Pitcullo." The variety of imperial heads included suggests that this was a representative selection from a hoard of the 'early' class.

¹ See H. Mattingly in *Num. Chron.*, 1914, pp. 113 ff.

LEUCHARS (Fifeshire).—In the description of the parish of Leuchars (1836) in *N.S.A.*, ix. ("Fifeshire") p. 223, we read:—

"The most interesting relic of antiquity that has been found in this parish is an earthen jar, which was discovered on Craigiehill, in the year 1808. This jar was found to contain nearly a hundred silver coins in perfect preservation. Unfortunately the jar itself was shattered to pieces by the plough, by which it was thrown up. But most of the coins were secured by the proprietor, the late Hon. Robert Lindsay of Balcarres, where they remain. The coins are stamped with the heads of Roman emperors, such as Severus, Antoninus, Faustina, &c."

Pitcullo is also in the parish of Leuchars, but there seems to be no doubt about the find there being a distinct one. The two places indicated are some five miles apart, and the dates are separated by nearly thirty years. The two proprietors mentioned are also different. Finally, the Craigiehill find was a 'late' one, whereas that from Pitcullo was 'early.'

GLAMIS (Forfarshire).—Sibbald (p. 16) says that "there were lately *Roman* medals found at *Glammis*." This was written in 1707, but the discovery must be the same as that described fully twenty years afterwards by Gordon (p. 186):—

"On digging up a small *Tumulus*, called the *Green Cairn*, near the Castle of *Glames*, in *Strathmore*, an Urn was lately discovered, with great Quantities of *Roman* Medals of Silver, many of which are still in the possession of the Earl of *Strathmore*. I procured one of them myself from a Countryman; it was a silver coin of *Galba*, and is now in Baron *Clark's* Collection."

This was clearly a hoard of imperial *denarii*. Unfortunately there is nothing to indicate whether it was 'early' or 'late.'

FAWSYDE (Kincardineshire).—The late Mr Crabb Watt, who had been brought up in the district, writes in his *Mearns of Old* (1914), p. 65:—

"Coins of the reign of Antoninus were last century found at Fawsyde, between Bervie and Stonehaven, not far from the main road. Two bronze bars and a piece of bronze like the clamp of a strong box were found at the same time."

Here again we seem to be face to face with a hoard of *denarii*, whose exact class we are unable to determine.

COWIE MOSS (Kincardineshire).—The earliest notice of this important hoard which I have met with is that contained in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1844 (pp. 525 f.):—

"About the beginning of the present year the son of a poor man, who holds a small possession on what is called the forest or common of *Cowie*, about three miles north from Stonehaven, in digging for the purpose of blasting, came upon some ancient coins buried about three feet deep in the earth. They had the appearance of having been contained in some earthen vessel, no remains of which, however, were

found. Those in the centre were much decayed, those on the outside in better preservation; but all were covered with a hard coat of green rust. They proved to be Roman *denarii* (silver), containing a fine variety of those of the Emperor Vespasian, his two sons Titus and Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Philosophus, Lucius Verus, colleague of the latter; Commodus son of Antoninus Philosophus and Septimius Severus, who died at York; with several of Roman ladies, in particular Faustina, daughter of Antoninus Pius and wife of Antoninus Philosophus. The greatest number were of Antonini, no two of them having the same reverse. At the time they had been deposited the ground, although now entirely denuded, must have been covered with wood, as the many roots and fallen trunks of oak trees abundantly testify. . . . The place where the coins were found is about a mile and a half from the ancient encampment of Re or Righ Dykes."¹

Lindsay (p. 270) bases his account of this hoard entirely on the extract that has just been quoted. So too do Stuart and his editor (p. 249), although they allow one or two trifling inaccuracies to creep in, such as that the date was 1843 and that the coins were actually "in an urn" when found. They add that several of the coins "are now in the possession of Mr John Buchanan, Glasgow." Others had made their way to the Exchequer as treasure trove. *Arch. Scot.*, v., App., p. 54, notes that three of them—a Marcus, a Commodus, and a Crispina—were presented to the Edinburgh Museum in 1846 by the Queen's Remembrancer. *Arch. Ael.* (O.S., iv. p. 7) records a similar donation to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The hoard, of course, belonged to the 'late' class.

HILL OF MEGRAY (Kincardineshire).—The next hoard was discovered about eight years later in the same district. It was first described in the *Aberdeen Journal* of March 10, 1852:—²

"On Friday week, whilst some labourers were engaged in trenching a piece of ground on the once well-known site of Megray Market, they came upon an ancient Roman urn, containing upwards of 200 silver coins. Some of these coins are said to be those of Vespasian, Nerva, and Adrian. The coin of Vespasian represents on the obverse the head of that Emperor with "Caesar Vespas," but the three remaining letters are indistinct. On the reverse of the coin a female figure is represented seated on a throne, holding in her right hand an olive branch. The coin of Nerva bears a representation of his head on the obverse, with the inscription "Nerva Traianu 66"; on the reverse there is a gladiator in an attitude of defence, and only one half of the inscription visible. The coin of Adrian bears his image on the obverse, with the inscription "Impecaesartraian . . . Adrian"; on the reverse a group of figures are represented, below which are the letters "Liberalius." "

¹ See *Proc.*, i. pp. 318 ff.

² I am indebted to Mr G. M. Fraser, the Public Library, Aberdeen, for kindly extracting this passage for me from the files of the *Journal*.

This is the source whence Stuart (p. 250) and Lindsay (Suppl., i. p. 51) have drawn their information. The latter adds: "The coins were from Vespasian to Hadrian, both inclusive, and were sent to the Exchequer." On this statement we should have been bound to assign the hoard to our 'early' class. That, however, would have been wrong. We learn from *Proc.*, i. p. 226, that the Queen's Remembrancer sent 141 *denarii* from Megray to the Museum—this being probably all that had reached him—and that out of these a representative selection of 20 was made for the cabinet, where they are now kept as a group apart. The descriptions in *Proc.* (i. pp. 227 f.) show that the selection was made up as follows:—Galba (1), Vespasian (1), Titus (1), Trajan (2), Hadrian (3), Pius (3), Faustina Senior (2), Marcus (3), Commodus (1), Crispina (1), Albinus (1), and Severus (1). The hoard was, therefore, of the 'late' class.¹

As an instructive illustration of the growth of legend, the following extract may be quoted from a paper on "The Knights Templars in and around Aberdeen" by Dr Alexander Walker (*Trans. of Aberdeen Philosophical Society*, 1892, ii. p. 160).² As the Netherley turnpike road passes over the Hill of Megray, there can hardly be a doubt that it is the Megray find that is responsible for the story told to Dr Walker. Observe that the hoard now contains coins of all three metals.

"In making the Netherley turnpike road, some years ago, which is constructed partly on Agricola's *iter* or road by which the Romans marched, behind a large boulder, which stood up some three feet above the ground, there was found a large bronze vessel full of gold, silver, and copper coins, belonging, no doubt, to some of the legions of Agricola's army, concealed doubtless there in their disastrous retreat from Caledonia. This expedition to the northern region of the land of the Picts cost the arms of Imperial Rome 30,000 men."

RED MOSS OF CRATHES (Kincardineshire).—The immediate sequel to the passage just quoted runs:—

"In their retreat the legionaries must have been in a very disorganised state, as, in the Red Moss of Crathes, on the estate of Sir Robert Burnett, are found scattered about silver coins of the empire, which, no doubt, were in possession of those Roman soldiers who had fallen down and died either from sheer fatigue or by the spears of the Picts. Some of these coins were presented to Blairs College by the late Sir James Burnett, the father of the present baronet, and are preserved at Blairs."

¹ Crabb Watt (*Mearns of Old*, p. 74), while omitting some of the emperors mentioned above, as well as both of the empresses, adds "Cæsar, Claudius, Nero." But his list is of very doubtful value.

² I am further indebted to Mr G. M. Fraser for bringing this and the two following extracts to my notice.

On the strength of this, Mr John A. Henderson wrote in his *Annals of Lower Deeside* (1892, pp. 36 f.):—

“In the Red Moss of Crathes also silver coins of the Roman Empire have been found, which strengthens the theory that the Romans, under Agricola, were in the district. Some of these coins were presented to Blairs College by Sir James H. Burnett, and are still preserved there.”

These statements attracted the attention of Mr G. M. Fraser of Aberdeen, a keen student of Roman Scotland, who decided to probe the matter further. A visit to Blairs resulted in the discovery in a drawer of about a hundred ancient coins, chiefly ‘brass.’ Twelve of the best preserved were picked out and sent to the British Museum for identification, with the following result:—Claudius (2), Nero (1), Marcus (1), Geta (1), Severus Alexander (1), Maximinus (1), Aurelian (1), Maximilian (1), and Constantine the Great (3).¹ So far as the names are a guide, there is no reason why most of those pieces should not have been found in Scotland. But they could not possibly have come from a single hoard: the period they cover is far too long.² And the great majority of them were of ‘brass.’ The facts are thus completely at variance with the story told by Dr Walker and Mr Henderson. In the hope of obtaining further light, Mr Fraser consulted both the present Rector of Blairs and his predecessor, as well as Sir Thomas Burnett of Crathes, none of whom had ever heard of the donation. Accordingly, all that can safely be said is that the coins now at Blairs College are a miscellaneous collection, not a hoard; that some of them may have been found in Scotland, or even in the Red Moss; but that in the meantime there is no evidence authentic enough to warrant any conclusion. So far as can be judged at present, the hoard of *Æ* from the Red Moss of Crathes is a myth.

ABERDEEN (near).—Gordon (p. 186) says:—“At a Place called the *Silver Burn*, near *Aberdeen*, a great quantity of *Roman Medals* was also found, many of which I saw in the Hands of some curious Gentlemen there.” Although no indication of the metal is given, the context seems to justify us in placing this among the *Æ* hoards. It may even be that the place took its name from the discovery: well-vouched-for analogies could be cited.

DESKFORD (Banffshire).—Gordon (*l.c.*) continues:—

“Besides, a great way further North, in the country of the *Boyne*, several *Roman* coins were dug up, about 27 of which are still preserved

¹ See an article by Mr Fraser in the *Scotsman* of April 26, 1913.

² See *supra*, p. 228.

in the Custody of my Honourable and Worthy Patron, the Earl of Findlater. Four of them I perceived to be Medals of *Antoninus Pius*, one of *Faustina*, one of *Otho* in silver, whose reverse had this Legend, *VICTORIA OTHONIS*; the rest were of different Emperors."

This description clearly points to a hoard of *R*, either of the 'early' or of the 'late' class. The find may well be that alluded to vaguely in *O.S.A.*, iv. (1792) p. 358, and spoken of more explicitly by Stuart, who, referring to Deskford, says (p. 218) that "some Roman coins, of the Empress Faustina and of Antoninus Pius, have also been found in its vicinity." Kirktown of Deskford is only about 2½ miles distant from the source of the Burn of Boyne.

NAIRN (near).—Gough in his *British Topography* (1780), ii. p. 705, informs us that "some years ago was dug up in a common near Nairn an urn containing a series of Roman silver coins of different emperors, a variety of duplicates, sets of which were presented to the faculty of advocates, and several other cabinets." This was clearly a hoard, doubtless belonging to one of our two classes. The find does not seem to be referred to by any other writer, although Gough himself mentioned it again in his edition of Camden, iii. p. 430 (ed. 1806, iv. p. 177).

BEAN CASTLE (Nairnshire).—To Gough's *Camden*, iii. p. 427 (ed. 1806, iv. p. 174), we are also indebted for the identification of the 'find-spot' of a hoard discovered as early as 1460.¹ The little that we know of it comes once more from Boece's *Scotorum Historiæ*, where, immediately following upon the passage quoted *supra*, p. 265, we have the following:—

"*Est & in Moravia, marino littore, inter vetustissimæ arcis ruinas, marmoreum vas, cui anseris duobus cum anguibus decertantis effigies mira arte insculpta, haud dissimili pecunia refertum, anno Christi millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo, a pastoribus inventum. Fuit idem lapis, uti a fide dignis accepimus, haud minus quam nummi diutius spectantibus admirationi argumentum, apud nostros majores Romanæ pecuniæ aliquando fuisse usum.*"

Bellenden's rendering (ed. 1821, i. p. 195) is:—

"Siclike, in Murray-land, beside the see, in the ground of ane auld castell, the yeir of God M.CCCCLX yeris was found ane veschell of merbill, full of uncouth money; on quhilkis war prentit the image of ane ganar fechtand with edderis; this veschell of merbill was in na les admiration to the pepill than the uncouth cunye. Be thir exempillis may be provin that uncouth money has been amang us."

¹ It is true that Gough says "more inland," whereas Boece says "*marino littore*." But both these terms are relative, and the coincidence of date is conclusive.

(B) *HOARDS OF 'BRASS.'*(a) *South-Eastern Scotland.*

NEWSTEAD.—Reasons have already (*supra*, p. 211) been given for believing that a hoard of late 'brass' came to light in the neighbourhood of Newstead about 1850. The coins described in *Proc.*, i. pp. 37 f.—which were only those "in best preservation"—were Victorinus (1), Diocletian (1), Carausius (1), Galerius Maximianus (1), and Constantine the Great (4). If we add the Tetricus Senior from *Proc.*, v. p. 107, we get precisely such a series of names as one might expect a small hoard of the Constantinian period to include.

CRICHTON.—A list of *Æ* pieces found at or near Crichton, and presented to the Society in 1785, is printed *supra*, p. 212. It is there pointed out that the coins of Domitian and Pius should probably be associated with the Roman station that once stood somewhere in the neighbourhood. The other names all belong to the 'low empire,' for the position which he occupies in the enumeration makes it clear that by "Claudius" is meant Claudius Gothicus. Arranging them in chronological order, we get—Gallienus, Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus, Claudius Gothicus, Licinius, Constantine, Magnentius, and Gratian. As there are at the most ten coins to be distributed over these nine emperors, it seems obvious that we are once again face to face with a representative selection. The names would be quite normal for a hoard of the Constantinian period, a solution long ago suggested by Haverfield (p. 164).

(b) *South-Western Scotland.*

BALGREGGAN (Wigtownshire).—The only find of late Roman *Æ* in Scotland which has been at all fully recorded is that made in October 1913, at Balgreggan Quarry, in the parish of Stoneykirk. It is described in *Proc.*, xlviii. pp. 395 ff. The hoard, which had been buried in an earthenware jar, comprised 125 coins, distributed as follows:—Helena (1), Constantine the Great (2), Constantius (31), Constans (24), Magnentius (61), Decentius (2), and indecipherable (4). The probable date of burial was *circa* 354 A.D.

CASTLEDYKES (near).—After referring to the finding at Castledykes of the *Æ* coins of Nero, Trajan, Faustina, and Germanicus, which have been spoken of *supra*, pp. 219 f., Gough's *Camden* proceeds (1st ed., iii. p. 343; 2nd ed., iv. pp. 82 f.):—"The present proprietor of Carstairs, William Fullerton, esq., in repairing a walk-mill and rivulet for it, got a quantity of Roman medals of brass of the same emperors, &c." Again, *O.S.A.*, xviii. (1796) p. 180, says, also with reference to

Castledykes:—"Coins of various kinds and of different value have been dugged up, bearing the inscription of M. Aurelius, M. Antoninus, &c. Some of these coins have been sent by Mr Fullerton, to the Antiquarian Society, and to the University of Glasgow." The description of the parish of Carstairs (1839) in *N.S.A.*, vi., repeats (p. 554) the statement of *O.S.A.*, but adds "Trajanus Imperator" to the names of rulers. Further, it connects the find with the bath, said to have been discovered "near Carstairs church," rather than with Castledykes itself, a variant for which there is no support in the earlier authorities.¹

We are now in a position to correct what Smellie reports (i. p. 42) regarding the presentation to the Society on February 26, 1781, by Mr Fullerton of Carstairs, of "Thirteen Roman coins in Bronze, of the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, the Empress Faustina, and Germanicus, dug up in Fife." It is plain from the preceding quotations that "in Fife" is a misprint for "at Carstairs," and the mistake is readily explained by the circumstance that the immediately preceding donation was a selection from the Pitcullo find (*supra*, p. 266). The details supplied by Gough leave little or no doubt as to Mr Fullerton's *Æ* having been a hoard. If the thirteen coins were only (say) a half of the total number presented, the other half going to Glasgow, and if (as *O.S.A.* appears to imply) it was only a selection that was gifted, then the whole hoard may have been fairly large. The presence in it of a coin of Germanicus is noteworthy, but not impossible; the Croydon hoard, which consisted of 281 pieces, and which was concealed about 160 A.D., contained a coin of Claudius (*Num. Chron.*, 1907, pp. 353 ff.). It should be added that this is the only Scottish hoard of Roman *Æ* which can be definitely assigned to the 'early' class—that is, the class buried about the end of the Antonine period.

UDDINGSTON (Lanarkshire).—In an editorial footnote to Stuart (p. 240) we are informed that close to Uddingston "a large quantity of Roman copper coins was discovered in 1848 during the formation of the Clydesdale Junction Railway. These belong to a later period of the Empire, chiefly Tetricus (3rd century) and were poorly executed. They have been much in use and are worn at the edges. Some of them are in the collection of Mr John Buchanan, Glasgow."

¹ A comparison of the two passages suggests, however, that *N.S.A.* in its turn became the authority on which Stuart founded in the passage quoted *supra*, p. 220. It is true that *N.S.A.* and the first edition of *Caledonia Romana* were published in the same year (1845). But the 'account' of Carstairs was written in 1839, and Stuart may have had access to it.

(c) *Scotland North of the Antonine Wall.*

CAMELON.—The hoard of *Æ* reported in Stuart (p. 267) as having been found at Camelon is fully dealt with *supra*, pp. 227 f., and need not be further discussed.

SAUCHIE (Stirlingshire).—*Arch. Scot.*, v. (App., p. 54), records the presentation by the Exchequer to the Society's Museum, on June 1, 1846, of "twelve Roman coins, found at Sauchie, in the county of Stirling, brass." Judging by analogy, we may conclude that these were a representative selection from a much larger hoard, and the chances are in favour of their having been coins of the late empire.

FORT AUGUSTUS (Inverness-shire).—The following is from the *Scots Magazine* of 1767 (p. 326):—

"A letter from an officer at Perth, dated May 2, says, 'Last week I was out with a command to Fort Augustus, where some part of the fortifications are repairing, Whilst there, some labourers, in digging a trench, found an earthen urn, of a blue colour, with about 300 pieces of coin, of mixed metal, some a little larger than our halfpence, and the others the size of farthings. They appear to me to be all of the Emperor Dioclesian.'"

It seems very unlikely that all three hundred coins can have belonged to one emperor, and the account of the sizes is not very satisfactory. Still, there seems to be no sufficient reason for declining to accept the substantial accuracy of the story.

Glancing back over the now completed list of hoards, one can see that its main result is to confirm some of the broad conclusions that were drawn from the isolated finds. The discovery of hidden stores of Roman money in parts of Scotland lying far beyond the frontier is a further proof that these pieces were current among the natives. It is a warning against too hastily assuming that every hoard of Roman coins must originally have belonged to a Roman owner. So far as Scotland was concerned, this was almost certainly the exception rather than the rule; only a few have been concealed in the immediate neighbourhood of the military centres, round which Roman traders would naturally congregate. Again, the time-limits indicated by the hoards are in close agreement with those that were suggested by the isolated finds. Both alike bear out what we learn from history as to the date when the Roman penetration of the country first began. There is the same evidence of a sudden interruption of communications in the early days of Commodus, of a temporary renewal in certain districts during the reign of Septimius Severus, and then of a fresh gap which, whatever be its explanation, would appear to have lasted for not less than half a century. And there is the same suggestion of at least occasional friendly intercourse during the hundred

years that followed. But the hoards and their distribution teach us something which we could not have learned from the isolated finds. It will be remembered that the 'early' class of *R* and the solitary example of the 'early' class of *E* must have been buried towards the end of the Antonine period. That is, they are memorials of the upheaval that ultimately rendered necessary the final withdrawal to the isthmus of the Tyne and Solway. A scrutiny of the 'find-spots' indicates that, while there may have been a certain amount of fighting in Perthshire and in Fife, it was in southern Scotland, and more especially in the south-west, that the struggle was fiercest or most prolonged. On the other hand, as was long ago observed by Haverfield (p. 161), the recorded hoards of the 'late' class of *R*—that is, those buried about the beginning of the third century—come without exception from Fife and the north-eastern counties. They thus corroborate the view that these districts were the main theatre of the operations of Severus. The particulars available as to the composition of the fourth-century hoards of 'brass' are far too meagre to permit of any deductions.

It must, of course, always be borne in mind that the coins represent but a single thread in the strand of archæological testimony, and that the proper interpretation of their significance is beset by many pitfalls. The conclusions to which they seem to point must, therefore, be regarded as tentative only, until it is seen that they are otherwise supported. With that warning before us, we may gather up in a brief summary what would appear to be the main results of our survey for each of the three periods of the Roman occupation.

- (1) The first of these, which opened in 80 A.D., did not come to an end with Agricola's own recall in 84. It lasted up to and beyond the accession of Trajan in 98 A.D., possibly even until after that emperor's death in 117. During this period, however, the Forth and Clyde isthmus was garrisoned only for a short time, the Roman hold over the country being maintained by a longitudinal line or lines of forts strètching north to Inchtuthil.
- (2) Everything that has come to light since 1899 has gone to confirm the soundness of the inference then drawn by Professor Haverfield as to the duration of the period whose beginning is associated with the erection of the Forth and Clyde Wall about 142 A.D. It is clear that southern Scotland was abandoned by the Romans early in the reign of Commodus—that is, soon after 180.
- (3) When Severus invaded the country in 207 A.D., he transported his troops by sea, making his headquarters at Cramond. His expedition was mainly directed against the tribes that occupied

what are now the counties of Fife, Forfar, Kincardine, and Aberdeen. Its influence was transitory, and can hardly have lasted much beyond 211, when the emperor died on the eve of a second campaign.

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